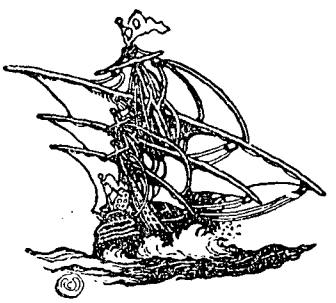
HENDRIK VAN LOON'S PAGE BEGINS IN THIS ISSUE

THE SURVEY

MIDMONTHLY

DECEMBER 15, 1924



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A Glimpse Ahead

"THE Story of Mankind" didn't stop with A. D., nor yet with H. G., least of all with H. v. L. The Story of 1925 will be the engaging theme of Hendrik Willem Van Loon who will give his observations on its passage. He will give them in text and cartoon in two pages in each issue of the Survey, making a flying start in this very number. As the historian finds in some old shard, the scrawl on a buried wall, or a stained bit of vellum, the revealing relics of a civilization, so he will give us comment and reflection and inimitable cartoons, with here an event, there a personality, a newspaper article, a play, a chance talk with a contemporary as his text.

We may thank our stars that this high comet of the literary firmament, by some law of his nature, swings into our patch of sky. Perhaps it's because he is inveterately interested in scanning the walks of men—and the Survey's work lies close to the beaten paths. Perhaps it's because he is a free-necked Dutchman; and this is his lost rebellion. Perhaps because he likes the company and like most of us is keenly alive to what goes on obscurely back of the newspaper headlines. Here we are, 1,700 members of Survey Associates. We have organized our curiosity; backed it with time and money; and share results with ten times that number of readers.

But at any rate H. v. L. is with us with pen and ink pot, with history and prophecy; and welcome to him. But let him give his own version of his coming. Members of Survey Associates—Mr. Van Loon:

ACCORDING to the Concise English Dictionary, a column is "a long, vertical tapering cylinder usually supporting an entablature or an arch."

Our country today is full of columns. They are not exactly "tapering cylinders" for the majority are built of native boulders which do not easily lend themselves to tapering effects. That, however, is a detail of construction for which the literary architect cannot be blamed.

But what puzzles me is the superstructure.

Have the builders ever thought of the possibilities of a roof?

Was there ever a country where so much "clever" work was done and so little of any value? The waste, the utter waste of all this manhandled talent!

It would make a nice fable for Aesop or La Fontaine.

They are both dead. Let me try and tell it in my own manner.

* * *

Once upon a time an editor had a goose, which once a week laid a golden egg.

In return for this generous service, the editor presented this faithful bird with plentiful but simple fodder, a little goose-house in which to bring up the little geese and an occasional extra frog for the gander.

But one day the editor had a brilliant idea.

"If my goose lays a golden egg every seven days for a nickle's worth of corn, what won't she do for a dollar's worth of assorted delicatessen?" he asked himself.

Forthwith he took his second-best limousine and drove to the village. There he filled the car with matjes-herring, olives, pickled shrimps, sardines, knackebröd, Deerfield sausages, mincemeat, pickled pigs' knuckles and caviar.

"I shall feed these to old Frau Capitolina," the great man chuckled to himself, "and in return she shall give me a nice, fresh, golden egg every twenty-four hours."

Late that night he went to the goose-sty and placed his royal gifts upon the doorstep of the humble bird-house. Then he returned to his own library.

"I have done it," he said to his wife who was doing a cross-word puzzle. "Now watch results. That poor simpleton will be so happy when she sees all that stuff, why she will just go on laying and laying and laying and what with golden eggs being as rare as they are, we shall soon be the richest editor in all the world."

Early the next morning he quietly stole to the spot to which Mother Goose was apt to retire for her weekly blessing. A common, ordinary goose-egg was lying in the middle of the nest.

MORAL.

This column will appear fortnightly and will be paid for at the usual "Survey" space rates.

H. v. L.

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THE SURVEY

Midmonthly Number

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The Gist of It

ARE we intelligent enough to be trusted with gasoline engines on wheels? The mounting total of deaths caused by the automobile makes this an open question. Making streets safe is a job that calls for the most vigorous leadership and the most persistent team-play. Ernest Greenwood tells how Secretary Hoover's conference to be held in Washington this week goes about it (p. 317).

THE motor-car may kill and maim, but it has other perils too. It's too easy to keep going in it—sometimes. Some of the social workers tell what they are trying to do about it on p. 349.

"WE WANT better things," remarks Professor Chapin of the University of Minnesota, "and we want more of them." From our growing wants and our new ways of feeling poor Professor Chapin proceeds agreeably to some reflections on the social organizations which try to save us from poverty (p. 322), in an article based on a paper read before the annual meeting of the St. Paul United Charities.

ARTHUR GREENWOOD, late of the Labour Ministry in Great Britain, sums up what the Government accomplished in domestic affairs during its brief span of office (p. 324).

WHAT can religion do for the cultural life of the open country, and how? Mr. Lindeman explored those questions in a paper presented at the Columbus conference of the American Country Life Association, from which is extracted the article on p. 329.

ARTHUR DUNHAM is executive of the alert Central Council of the Newtons, in Massachusetts. He tells of one device used by this non-financial federation to educate its public (p. 331). Leroy Bowman teaches community organization at Columbia and studies it through the New York Community Committee, of which he is executive (p. 332).

DR. HART sums up in rounded form the problem of changing the folk-ways (p. 341), and Mr. Hogue, director of workers' education for the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, takes stock of the particular effort to prepare the world for new folk-ways in which he is most interested (p. 343).

MR. TEAD, who brings us to date on personnel-management (p. 351) was associated with Robert G. Valentine in developing the "industrial audit" which laid the foundation for modern personnel work. He now teaches in the New York School of Social Work and is editing technical books for the McGraw-Hill Company. Mr. Barnes describes his own background for discussing the new report on the technique of employment offices (p. 352). He might have added that he had served as industrial arbiter in the clothing, garment, silk ribbon, shoe, fancy leather goods and shirt industries.

MRS. WARBASSE is educational secretary of the Cooperative League (p. 354). Mr. Person, who reviewed in Survey Graphic for December 1 the life of Fred Taylor, here goes further into a brief survey of the whole scientific management movement. He has been managing director of the Taylor Society since 1919.

OMISSIONS for which the author wishes to offer his sincere apologies were made in the article on heart diseases by Dr. Haven Emerson in the Survey Graphic for November. The special cardiac clinic at the Cincinnati General Hospital for both children and adults and the cardiac clinic at the Children's Hospital of Buffalo should have been included in the list given on page 116. In the list of heart associations already formed, page 117, San Antonio, Texas, should have been given instead of San Francisco.

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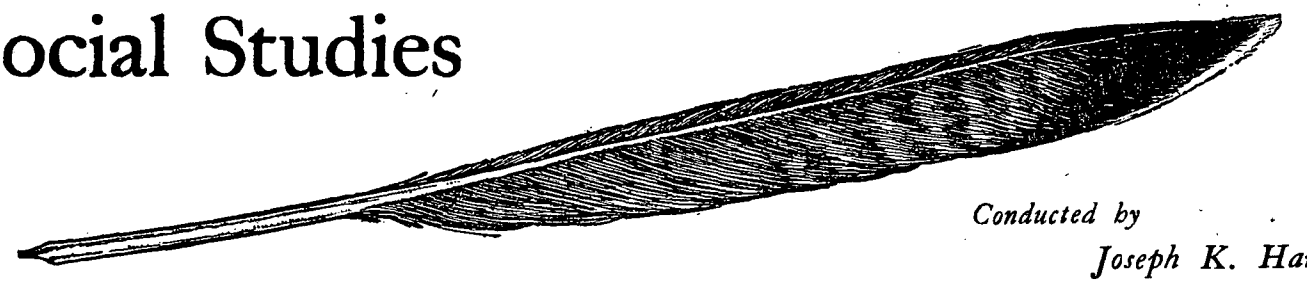
Social Studies



Conducted by
Joseph K. Hart

Making Things Safe—

HAVING, by means of wars and elections, made the world safe for democracy, our attention turns, naturally, to lesser issues—filling in the details of the picture. We are now interested in making country roads safe for the "gasoline hobo"; making city streets safe for the automobile; and civilization, in general, safe for children. This latter problem seems to be peculiarly difficult. Especially in the cities. Some authorities think children ought to go to work—in casual ways—at six, on a fractional time basis at ten or twelve, and on a full time basis at sixteen. Others think they ought to go to school until they are at least sixteen, and probably until they are eighteen.

Now comes one authority who feels that, in cities, they ought not to start to school until they are ten. Up to that time, they ought to be taken in busses to the country, and given a look-see at the trees and nature in general. But in New York City, for example, that would mean transporting some 300,000 children. At least 5,000 busses would be required. That many more busses on our streets would take up all the room the children had vacated. The situation is similar in all cities. Can the city be made safe—for children? That remains to be seen—not, however, that all children will be here when the answer is made! Can the city be made safe for civilization? It can for health, perhaps. Can it for minds? That, too, remains to be seen,—and not all minds will be able to comprehend the answer when it is made!

Can it for morality? That's a different sort of question, since morality must always be a function of the actual life men are trying to lead. The city is experimenting with morality, because, city life being new, men must find out how to live it.

These are some phases of the problem of making safe—and materials bearing upon our progress in these matters lie before the reader on these pages.

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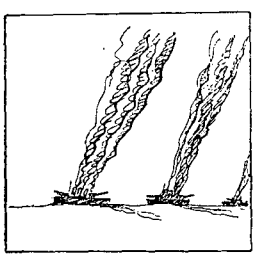
Hendrik Willem Van Loon's Page

THE vicious circle, sublime invention of all the amalgamated Devils, has once more made its appearance among the community of civilized nations.

In Egypt some misdirected idiots murder an English general. A plague upon their souls!

The unavoidable ultimatum follows immediately upon the funeral of the victim. The British Lion roars. A hundred smokestacks belch dark clouds of expensive anthracite. Regiments hither and yon begin to pack their shaving kits and tennis rackets and commence to move leisurely in a south-eastern direction. A million unemployed in the slums see a chance to get a job.



THE Egyptian scarab (or whatever national animal the new commonwealth of the Nile has adopted) gets on its hind legs and hisses a defiant chirp.

Soon the Pyramids will behold another manifestation of human foolishness. The Sphinx will also lose another ear and black-man, white-man, gentleman, serf, will stick long pieces of silvery steel into each other's bowels for the glory of Allah and the wounded pride of Jehovah.

We shall read about it in the papers and we shall say, "My! My!"

AND twenty years from now the London pawnshops shall be filled with Crosses of Egypt with the swords and the clasps.

Kyrie Eleison!

Bismillah!

World without end!

Slaughter without cessation!

Amen, and next!

MR. FREDERICK KEPPEL of the Carnegie Corporation announces that he is about to study the problem "as to what the public shall do with its leisure time." A couple of billions, so it seems, are available for this purpose. And these are to be used to teach the esteemed populace how to kill the tedious hours when it is not engaged in the pursuit of bread and jam.

In order that the whole thing may be done in decency and in order, a preliminary investigation is now under way. Arts, sciences, languages and possibly the drayma are to be drawn into the magic circle and above all things, the "humanities."

We have heard of civilizations which drank themselves to death and others which took an even shorter route to perdition. But a civilization which goes voluntarily into bankruptcy and appoints receivers to take care of its most hallowed possession, laughter and happiness, is something new under the sun.

By nature I am an optimist.

Even the Treaty of Versailles and the editorial page of the "Evening Post" have been unable to kill my belief in the future of the human race. But when we have reached the point where we need the assistance of a private corporation to teach our citizens how to amuse themselves during their hours of leisure, 'twere better we called in the engineers. For half the money they will invent a method by which they can suspend the law of gravitation for just five minutes.

The quick splash into the dark abyss of eternal oblivion would be something of a shock. But it would save us from the degradation of Gothic architecture via the correspondence school and Greek sculpture sold across the counter.

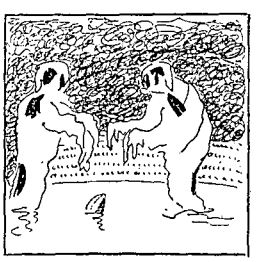
Instinctively I see an ad in the Mycenae "Times" of the tenth century before the birth of Christ. "Five thousand drachmes are offered for the best prose version of the late war with Troy." And I have visions of a Provençal Association for the Promotion of Troubadour Singing, Inc., in the year 1200.

Give us back an interest in the business of living, brother Keppel.

The rest will take care of itself.

SEVENTY thousand people traveled to New Haven one Saturday to see twenty-two promising young men wallow through eleven inches of mud for an average gain of five feet every fifteen minutes. Evidently the efficacy of prayer is no longer what it used to be.

For the "dominus" who has been the patron saint of Yale Academy for the last 224 years failed to do his share of "illuminating," and $400,000 of football was played in the dark.



Thy hand, great Anarch! Let the curtain fall

And University darkness cover all.

THEY say—oh, I am sure you have heard it—that good reportering is a thing of the past; that the Munsey's and the Reid's and the Oxen have trampled upon it and have killed it; that the days of Dana are gone forever; that newspapers are boiler-plated palliatives for the sick souls of Babbitts.

Three days ago the Herald-Tribune printed an inconsequential story about a very inconspicuous burgher who knew his rights and set on them until HIS subway-train (his by right of his nickel and a broadly painted announcement) carried him right to the point of destination. And it was as fine a piece of work as you can have read these last twenty years.

And yesterday the World had a column of William Bolitho. Who in the name of Heaven is this mysterious William who makes the buying of newspapers a sacred duty once in every seven morn?

He certainly told us nothing new. Anatole France has been dead these many weeks. The cabled dispatches have told us all about it. The rotogravure supplements have shown us his coffin in front of Maitre Arouet's grinning statue. But here at last was the story. Here was the one thing that was lacking before the old master could really turn to sleep everlasting and feel that the world was safe and that the little sparks which he had struck with so mighty and skillful a rapier had not fallen into the wet bog of indifference and oblivion.

H. v. L.

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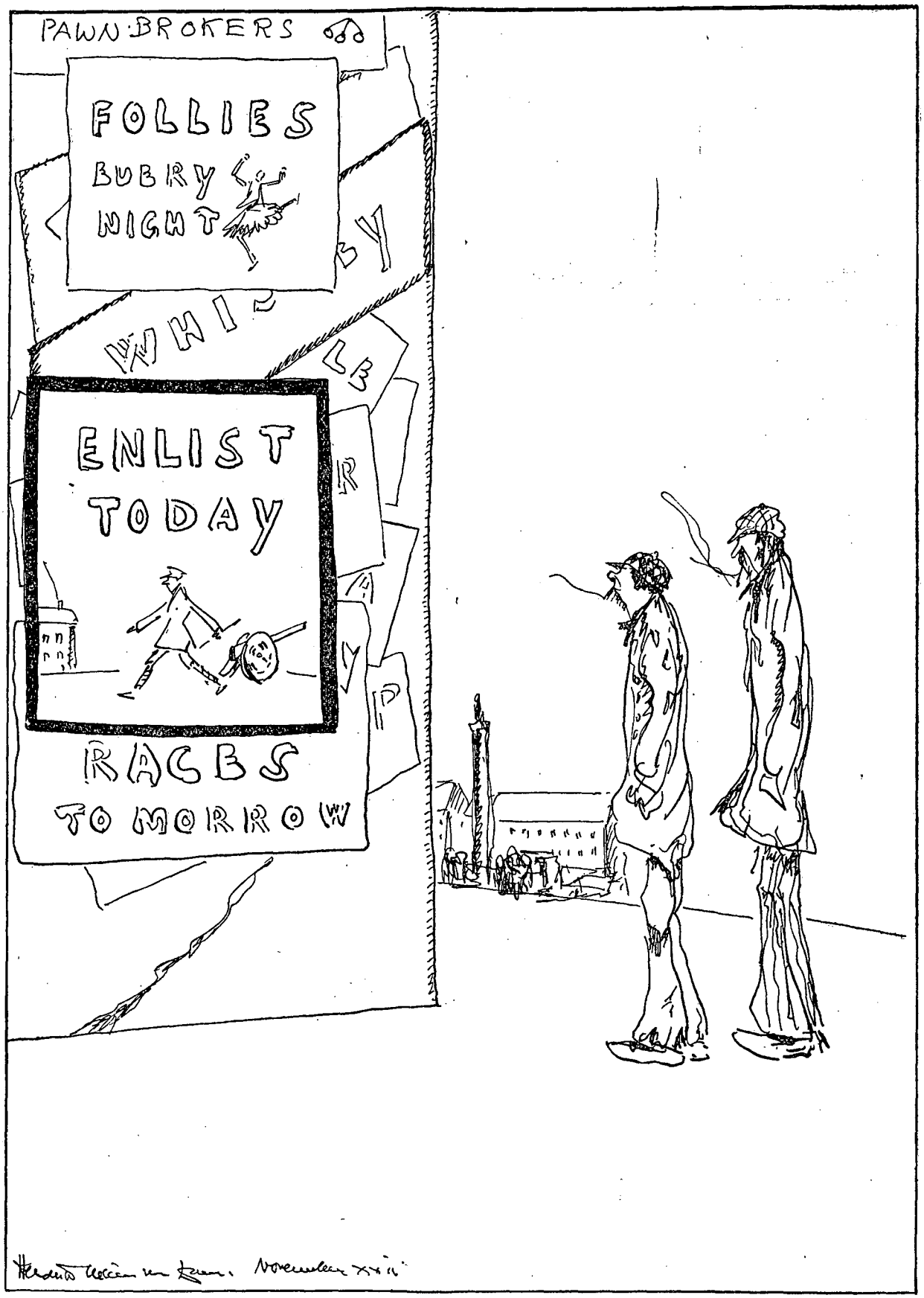

Hendrik Willem Van Loon

A WAR SCARE IN EUROPE?

The Unemployed: Here, Bill, is some good news at last.

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THE SURVEY
MIDMONTHLY

December 15
1924

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Make the Streets Safe

By Ernest Greenwood

THE traffic situation on the city streets and rural highways of the United States presents a crisis which has crept upon the American people unawares. Twenty-five years ago the automobile, as a practical unit in our transportation system, was little more than a dream. Today there are fifteen million motor vehicles in constant daily use and the annual accident toll has reached the appalling number of 22,600 deaths and 678,000 serious personal injuries. In addition to the human suffering involved these cost the public somewhere between six hundred millions and a billion dollars each year. Little wonder that Herbert Hoover, whose vigorous pleas for the elimination of waste have been the subject of international comment, should, when faced with such figures as these, turn his attention to the elimination of this enormous waste in human lives and human suffering, and should call a conference to deal with street and highway safety and accident prevention as one of the most pressing of our national problems.

Eight special technical committees were organized to study the subject in all its major phases as a preliminary to the conference. Their reports have been subject of editorial comment and general newspaper discussion for the last three or four weeks: they require no exposition in the columns of The Survey. There are, however, certain strains running through them which if caught together supply an underlying motif in this effort to build a national safety code of street and highway practices.

The first of these is the old familiar battle cry, Education. It will be found prominently in every report of every committee, though not always under that title. Education of the automobile manufacturers and their customers, of the insurance companies and their policy holders, of public officials and the general public, of children and their parents, of railroads, street railways, and standard taxicab companies and their employes, of motorists and pedestrians; at every point will be found, if one seeks carefully enough, the thought that accidents are primarily the result of ignorance either as to matters of fact or as to proper values. The Committee on Education states explicitly that "safety has the characteristics of all fundamental movements in that its success is dependent on education" and that "a reduction of the traffic accident rate presents therefore a fundamental problem of education."

In recommending the introduction of safety education in the curricula of the elementary schools this committee speaks of it as "part of a general course in citizenship in which due regard is paid to the responsibilities and obligations of human relations." There are broader angles to the question of traffic safety than those implied by such simple slogans as "Be careful or you will be sorry," and "Railroad crossing; a good place to commit suicide." Good citizenship is involved, and the citizen has obligations to his fellows, to the

In Washington this week (December 15-16-17) Secretary Hoover is calling together technical experts from many fields in a national conference on street and highway safety. They will try to find some way to teach us all how not to kill each other in and with automobiles. Their technical findings will be based on the reports of eight subcommittees—on statistics, traffic control, construction and engineering, city planning and zoning, insurance, education, the motor vehicle and public relations. Mr. Greenwood, secretary of the conference, draws together the threads of these studies into a statement of the fundamentals which every community must reckon with in making its own streets safe

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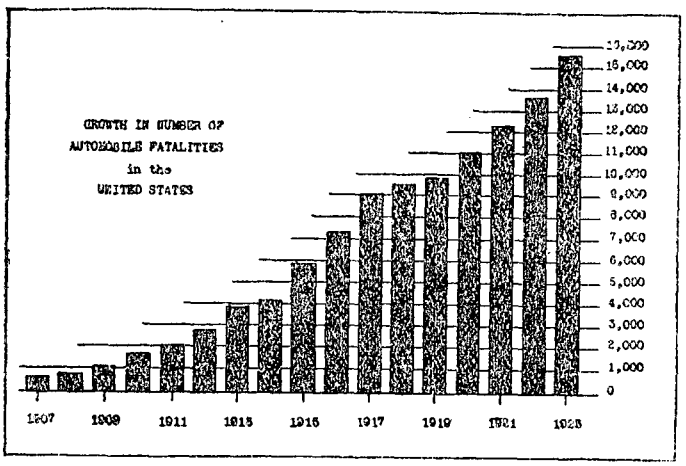
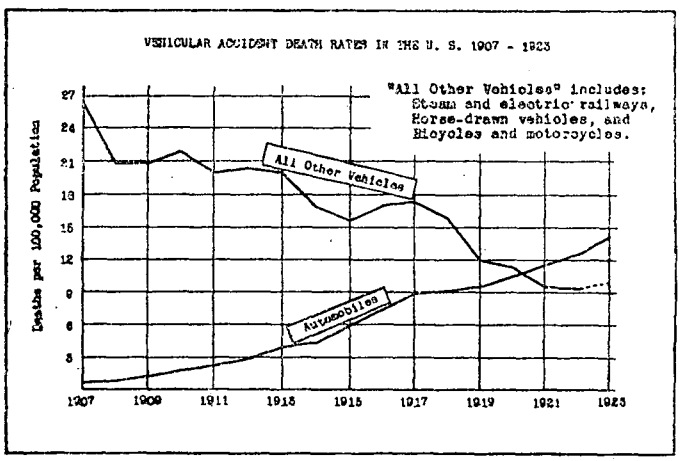
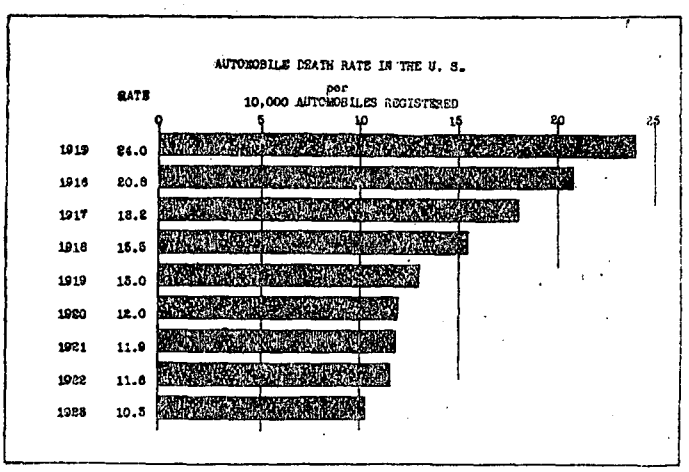
community, and to the state. The report on education quotes John Dewey as saying: "A curriculum which acknowledges the social responsibility of education must present situations where problems are relevant to the problems of living together, and where observation and information are calculated to develop social insight and interest," adding triumphantly: "There can be no doubt that safety belongs in such a curriculum," and proceeds to explain in detail the educational value of safety in the schools and shows how it can be introduced into the curriculum with the least amount of disturbance by interpreting subjects already there in terms of safety.







The appalling total of deaths from automobile accidents rises steadily. The only cheering aspect of these figures assembled and charted by the automobile department of the National Bureau of Casualty and Surety Underwriters is that the ratio of accidents to the number of cars registered steadily falls. Obviously we cannot afford to wait, however, until the use of automobiles reaches the saturation point and the reckless drivers are all killed off before taking vigorous steps to preserve life on the highways

Nor does it stop with the teaching of safety per se in the elementary schools. It would carry it on into the secondary or high schools. "Upon the foundation which has been laid in the elementary schools of social responsibility in the simpler relationships of life," says the committee, "can be built a structure in which the same attitude toward life is extended into higher and more complex fields." It then cails attention to the duty of the community to provide a pure water supply, good sewerage facilities, playgrounds by which children may be kept off the streets, good traffic control, and new city developments that insure the best traffic conditions, as subjects of high social importance.

The committee deals with the necessity of adequate playground space not only as an accident prevention measure—as a means of keeping the children from playing in the streets—but from the point of view that the playground is peculiarly adapted to the teaching of safety habits. It hopes to impress the child with the idea that the playground itself must be as safe as possible, and to make the children themselves responsible for seeing to it that all apparatus and facilities are in proper condition.

Education takes on another phase in the selection and training of traffic control officers, which involves an important relationship between officials and the public. Everyone who has driven a car knows that some traffic officers are popular with the motoring public and that their particular corners have excellent accident records. "Not every policeman," the committee remarks, "has the personal qualities necessary to succeed as a traffic control officer and even though he may have these qualities a certain amount of training should be required before he is charged with the serious responsibility of controlling traffic at street intersections in the cities or even on the rural highways." This echoes the comments of other committees that if motor vehicle officials are to succeed in their efforts to reduce the accident rate they must have, to a much larger degree, the understanding and cooperation of the public with which they are dealing. The traffic control officer must not only know and understand the traffic but he must know and understand his public and deal with it accordingly.

Many questions of human relations are involved, too, in the selection and training of drivers of passenger-carrying busses, taxicabs, commercial vehicles and electric street cars. The committee has not attempted to set up any definite standard for selection but has laid down certain fundamental principles such as the preferential employment of married men, satisfactory references, sound mental and physical condition, and the elimination of casual labor. Emphasis is given to the problem of giving the driver of this class of vehicles the community point of view of his responsibilities and some idea of his financial value to his employer, the community and himself if he is a safe driver.

The necessity of proper relations between the public and its officials is stressed in the report of the Committee on Statistics, the first committee to be organized by Secretary Hoover. This committee was assigned the task of painting the picture as it really is; the result is ghastly. It was faced with an almost total lack of systematic effort to secure accurate and complete data regarding such accidents, their types and causes, and methods of prevention, and re-

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John Cassel in the New York Evening World (copyright)

THE TRAFFIC PUZZLE

ports that "the traffic accident problem cannot be successfully approached, and certainly no solution can be attained, until the extent and character of the problem has been fully ascertained." Hence this committee devotes the major portion of its recommendations to possible methods of collecting and analyzing accident statistics. To this end it would make it mandatory by law upon motor vehicle officials to receive traffic accident reports on a state-wide basis and to investigate them. It would also make it obligatory by law for those concerned to report them and would provide "an adequate penalty for failure to report." Until the motoring public can be educated to the fact that complete knowledge concerning all accidents, no matter how or why they may occur, is essential to the success of accident prevention, cooperation between the public and officials should be made mandatory with penalties for failure to cooperate.

Turning to the report of the Committee on Traffic Control we find in the opening sentence "Effective control of traffic from the point of view of safety is bound up with . . . the education of the public to realize their individual responsibility to promote safety in every way," and later, "unable to enforce the law continuously, the police have tried spasmodic severity in the enforcement of certain rules and regulations, thus frequently losing the cooperation of both the courts and the motoring public." Claiming that the scope of the service rendered by insurance companies is not limited to the indemnification of losses but that accident prevention is an integral phase of their business, the Committee on Insurance calls upon the insurance carriers to engage in very definite schemes of cooperation with each other, with their policy holders, with the community and with the state, in the discharge of their obligations.

The social aspects of the recommendations of the Committee on City Planning and Zoning are many and varied; decentralization, or the creation of business sub-centers to relieve congestion, arterial highways for through traffic, the bypassing of main traveled highways around congested areas, and the like, may be urged for many reasons; their contribution to street safety is obvious. Even the committee on the motor vehicle, supposed to deal only with technical methods of making the automobile itself more safe, has found it necessary to touch on questions of cooperation and education.

At the very foundation of any national accident prevention program, in brief, are the corner-stones of education, cooperation, uniformity, and due regard for those principles of good citizenship which involve the problem of living together. As conveniences increase there is a growing tendency on the part of the public to consume them faster than they can be properly digested; Secretary Hoover asks: "Are these wonderful inventions to be defeated by the fact that we cannot use them safely because we will not use them properly?" It is to prevent an affirmative answer that the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the American Railway Association, the American Electric Railway Association, the National Safety Council, the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, the American Automobile Association, the National Bureau of Casualty and Surety Underwriters, the American Engineering Council and the American Mutual Alliance are cooperating with the Secretary in setting up a code of safety practices which will bring about a positive reduction of the accident rate. This is a practical example of the cooperation so urgently needed. No code, however, can solve the community's problem. Only by the proper organization of the community and the wholehearted cooperation of everybody involved—motorists and pedestrians, public and officials, schools and homes—can this dreadful waste in lives and suffering be eliminated.

Donahey in The Cleveland Plain Dealer

MUST HE RETURN?

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Working Women Who Get Hurt

After the Compensation is Paid—What Next?

By Mary Ross

ONE girl's fiancé broke the engagement because he could not bear the thought that her maimed right hand would prepare his food; three women said that their husbands left them because they looked so ugly after they got hurt on the job; an old woman weeping told how she had become clumsy since her accident so that she dropped the dishes and everything went wrong when she tried to keep house for her sons; other girls were ashamed to go out in company because they had to try to hide their hands, or could not dance; some women could not do their own housework or had to hire a neighbor to come in to wash and dress the children.

These were some of the unexpected aftermaths of industrial accidents which the New York State Bureau of Women in Industry turned up, when it went back recently to find out what had happened to girls and women who drew compensation four years ago for injuries at work which caused "permanent partial disability."

Most of us go through life with little stock in trade except the body which carries us fleetly or falteringly along the corridor from birth to death. These hands, this brain, are the capital of a life-time—a capital infinitely more precious than the other riches which may be added to it (but may not supplant it, because it is unique and irreplaceable. Society, recognizing its stake in conserving that sole fortune of the workers—on the interest of which they must live—expresses this theory legally in the various laws which make compensation of the injured a definite charge on industry.

It is comparatively easy to fix the compensation paid to the family of a worker who is killed, or to the worker who incurs a permanent total disability, in terms of his former wages. By the same method a schedule can be worked out to pay for the time lost from a temporary injury. Most difficult of the ordinary categories in compensation procedure, however, is the class of "permanent partials"—persons who are injured, and ordinarily must lose some time from work, after which they recover, but with some permanent disability—a finger lost, the sight of an eye impaired—which must be reckoned with as a definite handicap for the future.

SO it was 500 cases of this sort which the New York labor authorities decided to study in an effort to find out if compensation really had compensated a group of women. The cases were chosen from the total number closed four years earlier in such a way as to be thoroughly representative. The findings made possible a number of definite formulations of interest to those who are administering compensation laws: that only half of these injured women had been able to get work at wages as high as they had had before the accident; that a fifth of them had been eliminated from industry by the accident, and a quarter had gone back at lower wages. It showed that the most serious accidents were not those due to machines, but those due to slipping and falling; that it seemed more difficult to rehabilitate a worker with a major leg injury than one with a major arm injury; that those had gotten along best who had gone back to the same shop and employer—a change in the kind or even the place of work was an added handicap. Most interesting, however, were the implications regarding working women which could hardly be formulated in statistics but come out incidentally in the course of the study.

Taking this group as representative it would seem that women cling to industry by a very narrow margin. In the background is the shadowy refuge of the home, with housework—for one's own family or one's relatives—as a kind of unstandardized panacea. Ten girls reported that they were so discouraged by their accidents that they hurried their marriages. And this same dual opportunity means to any working woman a dual responsibility. An accident which takes a finger may impair one's skill in operating a certain machine, but it may prove to be even more serious out of working hours, when one cannot plunge that finger into hot water in the dishpan or washtub without paroxysms of pain.

More than a fifth of the women reported that since the accident they had found many difficulties in their housework. Some were only clumsy; others could do no laundry or no sewing. In a number of cases this meant that there had to be paid help at home, or the laundry had to be sent out, incurring an ill-afforded extra expense. One girl lost an extra income of $200 a year which she had made by doing embroidery in her leisure time. Others had to give up such of their recreations as reading or attending the movies; forty-four had to stop playing the piano. Three of these latter were professional musicians, one of them a violin teacher who had gone into a candy factory to tide over the slack summer when her little pupils were in the country—on the third day she lost two fingers of her right hand.

At best these working women had earned little enough. The median wage for the cleaners was $10 to $12. For the other groups, which included workers on punch presses, carding, spinning and weaving machines, sewing machines, printing presses, buzz saws and the like, hand workers in factories, and cooks, waitresses, laundresses, janitresses, saleswomen, clerks and hospital attendants, the median was $14 to $16. An accident to the lowest paid meant that they were forced out of industry entirely; it was no use to try to go back at a smaller amount and live on it. So also those who had no particular trade or skill, and those who had little schooling to aid them, found it difficult or impossible to regain lost footing.

It was the youngest and the oldest who more frequently were cast out, sometimes by a seemingly trifling accident. Possibly it may be inferred that the very young girls, whose earnings in any case were low, had gone into the factory more for change and novelty than because of direct economic pressure; the value to the family would be almost equal if they stayed home to share in the housework. When an accident came, and shook their nerve, they could retire to

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the home. They would not be expected to buck up and go on as would a boy, who had to look forward to supporting a family. The older women, too, many of them with grown children with families of their own, turned perhaps to this same refuge, and escaped the nervous strain of competition in an industrial group. Presumably the middle-aged group were in industry because they had to be, to support themselves or to aid in the support of their families. (The recent investigations of other groups of working women made by the federal Department of Labor bear out this supposition by showing the very large proportion of women in industry who had young children at home and were swinging a double job.) They were more in the position of men; they had to have money to add to the labor they already were putting in at home, and more of them were able to go back to earn it.

For the thing that stands out in this study of accidents, nearly nine-tenths of which were classified as "slight," is the fact that it often was not the mere physical hurt but the fear that followed which incapacitated. Of the 143 women who never returned to the same kind of jobs, 126 were operators of power machines, and nearly two-thirds of these were experienced workers. It is easy to understand that a janitress who has been seriously injured by a fall, or a needle worker who has lost a finger when infection follows a prick, may feel that care will avert another mishap. Some of the women who were hurt by machines blamed the fact that the machine was out of order—they put in a finger to release material caught in it, or a punch press "repeated," unexpectedly—but more than half of that whole group did not know how it happened. They were working as usual, and the machine caught them. They were terrorized by dread of another such bolt from the blue. Fifteen women who went back to their machines after the accident had to leave again because physically or nervously they were unable to endure the work.

WHEN one goes back of the report to the thumbed record cards from which it was written, each summarizing a long personal interview and an elaborate questionnaire, every woman's story becomes a drama of human suffering. Sometimes there is a happy ending, brought about by an intelligent piece of rehabilitation, the cooperation of an employer, or the girl's own determination not to be downed. There was Anna, who worked in a packing factory, and lost one finger and part of another. When her hand had healed they offered her the job back, and she took it and worked at it for four long months while each hour's work, which necessitated plunging that hand in hot water, cost her racking pain. Then she evolved the idea that she might work in the wrapping department and avoid that pain. The manager said that no girl with such a crippled hand could keep up with the rest, but she volunteered to try for a week without pay, and she won.

Often the forced loss of the job meant far more than the loss of wages. There was Grace, who liked the paper box factory and loved its dramatic club, where for the first time in her life she had been able to use her talent and taste for acting. Ironically enough, when her hand was maimed, the personnel department so intelligent as to foster excellent dramatics was unable to find a job in the factory which she could do, and she lost at once congenial work and her chief recreation.

There was Ethel, who packed candy in a candy factory. She had had two years in school and looked forward to a future brighter than the factory. So she went to night school to study stenography, in which she was progressing excellently. It is only a plucky and persevering girl who can work in a factory by day and at school in the evening, but even Ethel's determination did not enable her to keep on when she lost two fingers. Away with those dreams of office job and office pay!

IN a striking number of cases an experienced operator was hurt during the first days of a new job, when apparently she had relied too much upon her past training and paid too little attention to the new factors in a new machine, which differed a trifle from the old one, or in different conditions of lighting and seating in a new factory. Or sometimes, when trade was slack in her own line, she would take a piece of temporary work in another, knowing it to be but a makeshift.

It was under these circumstances that Alice was hurt. Ordinarily she was a feeder in a printing shop. But for a few weeks they shifted her over to another department. She knew that soon she would go back to the old work, and perhaps she may have resented the inconveniece of the change. At any rate, her attention flagged, and her hand was caught. She was made incapable of going on with the kind of work at which she had been hurt, and more important, of going back to her own more skilled job. In her case the bitterness of the blow was heightened by discord at home, ending in her husband's desertion, which she laid to the accident and its aftermath.

Wisely considered, the most tragic cases probably were such as these, of girls or comparatively young women, whose whole future was altered by the clutch of an iron claw. But one can hope that eventually they may find some way to adjust to the calamity. When misfortune strikes down an old woman, and robs her of what little life had dealt out to her, the situation often seemed almost hopeless. There was Mrs. Arthur, for example, who had been a laundress all her life long. She took immense pride in her work. Then the accident, and she had to give it up, and go out as a cleaner, just as though she never had known how to do fine silks, and French pleating, and starched collars, or to make ruffles look as though they were new organdie just out of the shop. She lived with a sister, who also was a laundress, and each day her pride was cut to the quick as that sister went off to a skilled trade while she herself could do nothing but mop and scrub and polish like any shapeless drudge. So mordant did that bitterness become that even her cleaner's job hung by only a shred at the time that the study was made; and the sister, supported by the testimony of neighbors, reported that what with her sharp words and hard looks it had become almost impossible to live in the house with her.

For seventeen of the five hundred, the majority of them older women, the accident precipitated a general physical breakdown. Hardworking all their lives, they had managed to keep going in the old rut, but once thrown out of it, they could not regain their balance. Fifty-three others felt they had never recovered their former strength. Though the majority of these had gone back to work, their job demanded more of them, they felt, than they had to give. Eighty-five, all but nineteen of whom were back at work, felt that they had never got over the nervous shock; some of them could not talk about the accident without crying,

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and one felt that she could not stand the strain of seeing the investigator and discussing it. Nineteen women had developed a mental attitude which can best be described as loss of morale.

"These women seemed thoroughly out of tune with life and had come to feel that there was nothing for them either in the industrial or social sphere. They had no complaint of suffering but life just did not seem worth while . . . Some were accepting a lower wage because they dared not try for another job, fearing they could not hold it. Others did not believe they could secure any kind of a job. Lack of confidence, bitterness and despondency were handicaps as great as some of the purely physical ones."

In how far wreckage of this sort is preventable or curable could not, of course, be determined by lay investigators. On the physical side, the large number of infections (nearly 20% of all the cases) points perhaps to a complicating condition which might be avoided by better care. At the end of four years all but 77 of the 500 women continued to suffer some pain. About one fifth of the women felt that their medical treatment had been inadequate. This, of course, does not mean that it was inadequate, but it does mean that the worker held to a feeling of distrust and bitterness which hinders quick and successful readjustment. It is important that insurance companies and employers seek physicians who understand and sympathize with industrial workers. On the predominantly mental side a clear understanding is even more difficult. Surely, however, a warped and twisted spirit requires treatment as certainly as does a stiffened elbow joint. The story of these women workers offers a clear argument for the extension of mental hygiene and psychiatric service which already has proved so effective in certain industrial experiments. For the social handicaps, the thwarted hopes and ambitions, family discord, the loss of recreation, no compensation could provide adequately.

"Probably no scheme can be devised which will indemnify workers for the serious social handicap which follows a permanent injury," say the framers of the study. "But at least a continued emphasis can be made upon the heavy cost of such injuries as a further incentive toward accident prevention."

IT is unfortunate that no similar study is available to show how a group of men have been able to adjust themselves to similar circumstances. Between the lines this report gives suggestive glimpses of some of the especially complex factors of responsibility to home and job which complicate the work of women. There is always a potential shift from the paid job in the factory to the job at home, which, though productive, has no wages attached. About a third of the group of 500, for example, had left industry in the four years since the accident for marriage, or for home considerations in no wise affected by the accident. But others, who had to stick at it, had both sets of duties to perform. In accounts of a group of men with hand injuries there would be no mention of the complaints which ran currently through the stories of these women—that besides their troubles at work there were also the handicaps of not being able to mend, or sweep or launder. Any understanding of the problems of working women must face the assets and liability of the fact that they often have the alternative of two sets of jobs and sometimes the undeniable handicaps of having to undertake the two at once.

Some Thoughts on Our Social Machinery

THERE are more ways of being poor than ever before in the history of society. Not only that, but there are more opportunities for social maladjustments as the volume of requirements resting on the individual becomes heavier and heavier.

We want fountain pens, vacuum cleaners, electric irons, electric toasters, electric washing machines, phonographs and radio sets, as well as a telephone and an automobile. Some of us want several automobiles and a telephone connection on each floor. This elaboration of the standard of living presents more ways of being distinctive in dress and dwelling than we had before, in spite of the standardizing of fashion through machine-made garments and utensils and furniture.

More than that, the fountain pen requires a pocket clip or chain ring. Once the cook-stove warmed the living room and we threw the dishwater out of the window. Now we need humidifiers, radiator brushes and sink brushes. The list of Ford accessories is hardly contained in a twenty-page booklet and the number of radio parts and accessories grows by geometrical progression. As our worldly possessions increase the need for all such repairing and protective devices grows too.

The average drummer, moreover, travels more and sees more towns and cities than did the reigning prince of earlier times; a petty tradesman or a cook sends and receives more letters than did the average university professor of yore. The average city dweller is engaged in a host of activities, every one of which involves an effort of the nervous system and a wearing out of tissue. Our sensory nerves and brain centers are set to ceaseless activity by the countless stimuli that pour in upon our minds, with every conversation, every scene presented through the window of a moving street car or automobile, every ring of the telephone or the door bell, and we even go to bed at night with the radio head pieces to our ears. The strain of these experiences helps to increase and aggravate the social maladjustments of the modern order and vastly complicates the work of a social agency in attempting to cope with its problems.

We may vision a time when the economic causes of poverty for whole peoples shall have been eliminated, just as we have seen chattel slavery swept away from certain countries by the appearance of a new economic order. But we are not going to see the elimination of accident, calamity and unforeseen contingencies; we are not going to escape the process by which new generations learn their own lessons by trial and error; and we are not going to be free of perennial and recurrent maladjustments.

AS the social structure elaborates we have found new adjusting and protective agencies and organizations necessary. The factory system necessitates child labor legislation and factory inspection. The disruptive tendencies in the modern home and the migration of foreign families to our cities bring with them the need of child protective work. The breakdown of the old controls of home life and the commercialization of recreation have brought the juvenile court and probation officer. The multiplicity of occupations (there are 428 in the census classification) has brought the

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vocational guide and technical schools. Social structure also grows and elaborates by the process of fission. The social service exchange breaks off from the united charities and becomes an independent organization; the legal aid division separates from the family welfare association and becomes an autonomous unit. The visiting nurse's department withdraws from the associated charities and becomes a lusty organization by itself. Thus the mother cell breaks up into new and differentiated units. Then there are those well-meaning people, subconsciously yearning for recognition and a chance to dominate some group, who are forever organizing new clubs, creeds, cults, societies, in order to find something to do in life. On the other hand, we welcome certain integrating tendencies, such as experiments with generalized nursing in certain city wards, and the organization of central councils of social agencies, community funds and welfare federations.

Now there is reason to believe that there is a limit to this sort of endless elaboration of social structure; a limit beyond which it is not good for the given community to go. In other words, the community may be over-organized. The community may be marked by its feverish activities, peoples rushing about from one meeting to another, and trying to keep up so many group contacts that they fail to function effectively in any one. We have the "joiner." It seems likely that there is a fairly definite range in the capacity of the average person to participate effectively in group activities. This range is relative to age, sex, education, health, social experiences, etc. It is already apparent that the feeble-minded have a more limited range than the average individual, and as a result are constantly cast upon the shore by the swirling eddies of group activity. Studies of the problem of over-organization are now being made by sociologists, but it is premature at this time to do more than sound a warning.

THERE are two grave social dangers in this situation of over-organization. The first is the tendency to form the habit of meeting difficult situations by creating new machinery to deal with problems rather than to adapt old machinery; this is really a failure to accomplish the much needed reorganization of the thought life and emotional life of the inner man. The second is the tendency of each class and group in the community to elaborate its own traditions without relation to other traditions and thought streams, so that we have dissociated systems of thought and values that inevitably produce conflicts.

We like to create new social machinery, we like to organize new groups, clubs and societies to meet emergencies, and even choose these means so that we can get personal credit for the achievement. As opposed to this method there is usually the chance of adapting old and existing organization to meet the situation and thus enlist the loyalties, sentiments and team work habits of those accustomed to work together, but this procedure means subordinating one's self to established leaders and is not an act congenial to those who desire self-recognition above other things.

The real inwardness of this rush to new machinery, to new structure, is often fear of facing reality, because it is unpleasant for one's own friends or because it requires hard work to adjust existing social agencies to new needs. Thus new machinery seems to be sometimes created to escape from the need of really grappling with problems. The new machinery, in the words of modern psychology, becomes a system of defense reactions and provides a refuge from reality. There is some reason for believing that memorial orphan asylums and other similar institutions are brought into being by those who try to avoid the need of inner adjustment to external problems.

DISHARMONY exists among the traditions of social agencies in the community and is aggravated by each new organization that is formed. Let us consider the process. Each new organization develops its own traditions and standards. An individual serving his organization develops a sentiment of loyalty toward it. The interests of the organization become his interests; criticism of the institution is taken as a personal slight and resented accordingly. The individual becomes identified with the organization; by serving it he grows in character and experiences an enlargement of personality that comes from identification with a bigger whole. Since we are all actuated by mixed motives it is hard to draw the line between the support of an organization that is given unselfishly, and the loyalty that exploits the organization for one's own advancement and self-expression. At any rate the organization gets a push from its members, its traditions grow and elaborate and become specialized. It is inevitable, perhaps, that one organization should wax powerful at the expense of a competitor, but the expression gained for the members of the successful organization is often at the expense of repression of the same instinctive impulses and experiences of the others. Social disharmony and clash of traditions result; members of the successful organization suffer an over-weighting and overgrowth of certain elements of their natures and tend to become over-specialized at the expense of other elements of the personal make-up. The result of this is seen in misunderstandings and petty jealousies between organizations.

The tradition of each social agency in the community thus grows and elaborates itself in communication-tight compartments until we find in the community widely different mores of social work existing side by side.

This situation exists in all communities I have any knowledge of. It is not in itself pathological, but may easily become so. It is natural and normal for social structure to grow in complexity and specialization as it elaborates. It is dangerous only when we allow things to drift year after year without conscious guidance and serious effort at cooperation in community planning. The effort at community planning must be persistent; we can hardly be too conscious of it, but we can easily be over-confident in the validity of our vision.

I believe the family agency holds in its hands a unique opportunity for checking the two destructive tendencies I have mentioned. It should understand the real community situation, better perhaps than any other agency, by virtue of its insight into motives of behavior. It is in position to check the tendency in all American communities toward meeting difficult social situations by creating new machinery, and since social case work aims at the construction of character, the family agency is in a position to attempt a reorganization of the inner life of thought and emotion of those persons who persist in over-organizing the community and dissociating its traditions. Here is a new group of clients, and a new and fascinating task.

F. STUART CHAPIN

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What Labour Did at Home

The first Labour Government in Britain has come and gone. It took office towards the end of January and resigned early in November. Its life was a short one, but those eight months were perhaps the most significant episode in the present decade of English-speaking history. Much has been written on the international and the political aspects of the Labour régime; here Mr. Greenwood sets down briefly for the record what was accomplished in domestic affairs

BROADLY speaking, the object of the Labour Government at home was to clear the ground for the future and to bring some alleviation to the most sorely pressed classes of the community. Of its housing policy I have already written (see The Survey, Nov. 15, 1924, p. 201) and need do no more than to say that it was framed with the definite purpose of providing better houses for the mass of workers and their families.

The second problem with which the Labour Government had to grapple was unemployment for which, its critics have repeatedly reminded it, it had "a positive policy." But a minority government in office for nine months could not reasonably be expected to undo the mistakes of all the post-war years. The Labour Party has always insisted that the first step towards dealing with the present volume of unemployment was the restoration of real peace and the reestablishment of normal economic life on the continent of Europe. It took greater steps towards this end than any previous government, but its work cannot fructify immediately. At home, previous governments had put into operation some of the proposals pressed forward by the Labour Party. The Labour Government, when it took office, energetically pursued these proposals and the full program adopted by its predecessors. In addition, it increased the grants to local authorities carrying out non-revenue producing public works. It developed a new national road policy; set on foot enquiries regarding the possibilities of a great hydro-electric scheme on the river Severn; and arranged a scheme for the development of a national electric supply of standardized frequency to cost the state about £10,000,000. Its housing policy provided another item in Labour's unemployment program. Its budget gave substantial relief to the mass of citizens and increased their purchasing power and thereby their demand for goods. During the time Labour was in office there was a net decrease in the number of unemployed and certainly a good deal less real hardship amongst the unemployed workers. But the results of its work will be garnered by the new government.

The Labour Government gave more generous treatment to the unemployed. More insured workers were rendered eligible for unemployment benefit, the period during which benefit could be drawn was extended and the amount of benefit was increased from fifteen shillings for men and twelve shillings for women to eighteen shillings for men and fifteen shillings for women, whilst the allowance for dependent children was raised from one shilling a week to two. The effect of these reforms and of the improvement in trade was reflected in the Poor Law statistics. During eight months of Labour Government the number of inmates residing in Poor Law institutions considerably declined, and the number of people receiving Poor Law "out-relief" fell by 207,000.

The Labour budget was greeted on all hands with approval. It imposed no new taxes, and though it reduced and abolished some taxes, it also found money for increased unemployment benefit, for further help to ex-service men and their dependents and for the aged. It was a popular budget in the sense that the maximum number of people obtained the direct benefits to be derived from it. The duties on sugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, chicory and dried fruits were all reduced. The sugar duty was reduced by 1½d per lb. or more than a half; the tea duty was reduced from 8d per lb. to 4d per lb. Almost similar reductions were made in the case of other food duties. The reduction in the sugar duty alone put more than £17,000,000 a year into the pockets of the people. The Labour budget has been truly described as "the greatest step ever made towards the realization of the cherished radical ideal of a free breakfast table." The total reductions in taxation amounted this year to over £34,000,000. Philip Snowden, the Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer, also removed what were called the McKenna duties which were imposed during the war, and had been continued as a protectionist device. These duties on imported motor cars, musical instruments, etc., were abolished, notwithstanding strong opposition. Events have falsified the gloomy prognostications of the tariffists and the industries concerned have fewer unemployed today than before the duties were repealed.

It was not possible for the Labour Government to carry out to the full its social program, partly because it was in a minority in Parliament, and partly because it would need a long term of office even to lay the foundations securely. But it did at least clear the ground. As I have already said, unemployment benefit was increased, and more people rendered eligible for it. Those who were disabled in the Great War and the dependents of those who lost their lives on active service have, as in other countries, been made a special obligation of the state. The Labour Minister of Pensions brought a new spirit into the administration of war pensions; rigid regulations were relaxed; modifications were made in existing arrangements; grievances were removed; and the whole administration democratized. There are now thousands of ex-service men, ex-servicemen's widows, parents and children who are receiving more generous treatment as a result of nine months of Labour Government.

The Labour Government also turned its attention to Old Age Pensions. It increased to the full amount the state pensions of about 60,000 old people who had under the existing law suffered deductions chiefly because of small savings, and brought within the scope of the Old Age Pensions Act over 150,000 aged people who formerly received no pension. The unemployed, the victims of the war and the aged have, it will be seen, cause for thankfulness that there has been a Labour Government.

The agricultural worker ought also to be grateful. During the war the workers on the land who had always been ill-paid, received for the first time a legal minimum wage. After the war the Wages Board was abolished. The Labour Government,

(*Continued on page* 371)

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The Common Welfare

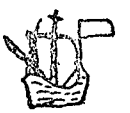
THE labor war which has smoldered on in the West Virginia coal fields for almost a generation, and which from time to time has broken out in explosions of violence, has developed a new phase. On November 24 Circuit Court Judge A. H. Hudgin, on application of State Attorney General E. T. England, granted a temporary injunction prohibiting the continuance of the so-called mine guard system in Logan County, referred to as a "rule of terror." The court forbade the appointment as deputies of men to act as private guards or receive pay otherwise than out of county funds. Sheriff Don Chafin, Circuit Judge Robert Bland, the three county commissioners, 125 deputy sheriffs and 75 coal companies are defendants. The defendant deputies are restrained from acting as private guards or receiving outside pay, and the coal companies from contributing to the pay of deputies directly or indirectly.

In bringing suit, Attorney General England charged wholesale "framing" of enemies of the system by private mine guards, deliberate violation of federal and state laws, driving away, beating and even killing of "innocent citizens" by mine guards under the sheriff's protection, general use of a mine guard system to corrupt the ballot and other similar abuses.

In commenting upon the injunction, the New York World calls attention to the fact that Sheriff Don Chafin had long been looked upon as the "Czar of Logan County," which for years has been the "most notorious" non-union territory in the West Virginia coal fields, (see The Black Avalanche, The Survey, March 25, 1922, and Free Speech in Logan, Apr. 15, 1923) and reminds its readers that the march of the union miners in Logan County a few years ago was aimed at Sheriff Chafin and his system, under which deputy sheriffs in the pay of the coal companies acted as mine guards.

The action of the court in this case is especially interesting in its possible bearing upon one of the most famous decisions of the United States Supreme Court regarding the status of trade union activity in America. The case of the Hitchman Coal and Coke Company v. Mitchell was a suit in equity, commenced October 24, 1907, designed to prevent the United Mine Workers of America from all attempts to unionize men under individual contracts which excluded relations with the union. The majority opinion of the Supreme Court delivered by Justice Pitney in 1917 has come generally to be regarded by the trade unions as the main bulwark of the so-called "yellow-dog" contract which has in turn been used to justify the deputy-mine-guard system. The dissenting opinion delivered by Justice Brandeis, and concurred in by Justice Holmes and Justice Clarke, has, on the contrary, been generally accepted by the trade unions as a classic statement of the functions of trade union organization and of the rights implicit in those functions.

If the higher courts should sustain and make permanent the temporary injunction granted by Circuit Court Judge Hudgin, it is readily conceivable that the minority opinion of the Supreme Court in the Hitchman case may yet prevail. If the deputy-mine-guard system is declared illegal, unionization will inevitably proceed. From the point of view of social policy, the question at issue is as significant as that upon which the Supreme Court ruled on October 20, 1924, in the case of Michaelson v. United States, which J. M. Landis of the Harvard Law School reviewed in The Survey for November 15.



THE American Country Life Association has added one more to the slowly growing list of conferences at which a new technique of group participation is replacing the stereotyped "program." At its annual session in November, at Columbus, Ohio, the program was chiefly built up out of the discussions of the delegates. The topic was Religion in Country Life. Only a few formal papers were read (one of the most striking, that of Mr. Lindeman, appears in part in this issue of The Survey, page 329).

The first day was given over to a pooling of typical community situations. The delegates were divided into small groups which were cross-sections of the conference; the discussions of these groups were in turn reported to the full meetings through a recorder. The data brought in involved such questions as the approach the church should make to the community, the relations of the church to social and economic agencies, duplication of religious agencies and the denominational method of organizing churches. On the second day "proposals" were on the docket. The conference chose to discuss changes in religious agencies, practically ignored the specific problems it had gathered on the previous day, and talked about proposals regarded as generally applicable to rural churches and communities.

On the third day the conference divided into "responsibility groups"; for example, professors of theological seminaries, pastors, social workers, teachers in agricultural colleges, the residents of farms, met to discuss what they were going "to do about it" and to report upon what changes they regarded as most necessary. The agricultural college group confessed that they had been intellectual quitters when they had dealt only with production; they thought their chief contribution would be to give the farmer technique for turning his dollar into consumption goods. The ministers held that working together, greater cooperation, federation and union of agencies made a way out. The denominational secretaries said they would express their convictions to their boards as well as to their constituencies and that interdenominational action is the way out. At the student section of the conference, attended by delegates from colleges and theological seminaries, those preparing for the ministry voted to refuse to go to over-churched communities.

The introduction of this discussion method at a national conference was the occasion for lively comment on its merits and weaknesses. The indications are that the large majority

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of those who attended were enthusiastic about the program because it gave everyone a chance to contribute. Each delegate spent five or six hours in small groups, and there was time to draw upon the experiences and ideas of all. The method undoubtedly assured a high degree of participation. There were some criticisms, however—from professors who thought they had found the best educational methods and opposed experimentation; from religious leaders who complained that the discussion was too much a mere pooling of what people were doing and that there was too little recognition of the need of new technique and methods; from some who felt that the "experts" were not sufficiently honored; from others who thought there was too little time to get the real opinion of the whole group as to a course of action.

When the conference divided into "responsibility groups" about twenty people, Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. workers predominating, assembled to determine what social workers and social agencies could and should do. They agreed that in all contacts with rural communities each social worker should tell the local people not only about his own agency but also, as far as possible, about the work of other organizations which might be helpful. Each individual social worker, in other words, should see to it that the rural community knows what help it can get from various sources, instead of being forced to rely, through ignorance, on the service of the first agency that happens along. It was also agreed that each social worker should seek out and try to integrate the local opposition to the plan he himself believes in. He has not met his full responsibility to the community when he has found a group who are ready to adopt his particular program; he must make effort to have the problems in hand considered by a group of persons who can fairly present the varying points of view in the community, and to have this group work out a program and organization which they can all support whole-heartedly.

It was agreed, too, that social workers should in all cases assist rural ministers in improving the service of their churches in their communities and, in the case of a struggling church in a non-competitive field, should even help the minister with organization problems inside the church. It was recommended that national social work agencies set themselves to find out, by experiment, whether it is practical for one full-time local executive to carry the programs of two or more national agencies.

SEVERAL questions are left hanging by the report of the State Department of Labor of New Jersey on its investigation into the deaths of the five men recently poisoned by lead tetraethyl at the Standard Oil plant at Elizabeth. According to Dr. McBride, the State Commissioner of Labor, the Standard Oil Company had complied with every letter of the law in providing safeguards, such as gloves and masks. But, he declares, it is an open question as to whether the gas mask with a carbon content is of any practical value in an operation of this type; no authoritative documentary evidence was produced to show that the masks were effective for the purpose for which they were worn. If it was possible for the Standard Oil Company to fulfill its legal obligations by general measures not adapted to the specific hazard at issue, to subject its workmen to fatal risks with legal sanction, and with the false sense of security which they naturally would have drawn from complying with safety regulations, surely these need overhauling.

On the other hand, there is some evidence to show that the men did not always wear the masks or the rubber or canvas gloves required by plant rules; and at several points in the flow of material from the raw to the finished product the processes employed made it possible for them to come into contact with the poisonous substance, either in the liquid state or in the gaseous form, to which Dr. Gilman Thompson, consulting expert to the Standard Oil Company, apparently attributes the fatal accidents. Dr. McBride feels that it is the duty of the company not only to provide mechanical safeguards, but to add what was lacking in this case—supervision to ensure their constant use. Even granted both these conditions, however, he declares the manufacture of lead tetraethyl by the processes employed at Elizabeth should be discontinued, since *"experience has proved that workmen cannot be safeguarded against the effects of poisonous contact."*

If men cannot be safeguarded it becomes unnecessary to discuss whether or not they were. But it becomes also the more imperative to devise out of this tragic experience some procedure which will make it impossible to continue gleaning our wisdom by a kind of human vivisection and then making post mortem investigations. Perhaps there is a suggestion in the agreement which the Standard Oil Company has made not to undertake the manufacture of lead tetraethyl again in New Jersey without first notifying the Department of Labor. A set policy of such a nature would at least give an opportunity for a prior investigation by disinterested experts. It is conceivable that a state might require that a company be examined and licensed before it is permitted to offer dangerous employment to the public, just as a physician or a pharmacist must be licensed, after the examination of his qualifications, before he can dispense poisons with intent to heal.

MEANWHILE the effect of ethyl-gasoline, which contains lead tetraethyl in the proportion of one to one thousand or fourteen hundred parts, remains a moot question. A circular summarizing research of the Bureau of Mines reports negative results in subjecting animals to exhaust gas from an engine in which it was burnt, and from the American Chemical Society comes the conclusion from a study directed by Dr. Harrison E. Howe, emphasizing the dangers of the manufacture of lead tetraethyl (dangers no greater, however, than those which attend various other commercial processes) but declaring that the dilution in gasoline is a "perfectly safe mixture." That statement concludes optimistically: "But the public is not nearly so concerned as are the manufacturers who realize to what extent they would be the subject of attack should it develop that the public is endangered by the use of this fuel."

True, perhaps; and yet in a situation in which the doctors have disagreed so widely, with expert judgment on both sides, (see The Survey, December 1, 1924, page 292) our test of whether the manufacturer's self-interest is a sufficient guarantee of safety hinges on whether they are willing to

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wait until all the evidence is in. So far no results have been made public of the effects of subjecting animals over a long period of time to the ethyl gasoline itself in liquid form, as garage workers, employes at filling stations, and car owners themselves would be exposed to it in common use. Possibly the Columbia University study, results of which are not yet available, will have considered this aspect. Until then: —'ware Fankenstein!

THE first international opium conference has failed, and as this issue of The Survey goes to press, it seems likely that the second also is developing a very bitter discussion which may block any progress. The first conference, convened on November 3, was called by the League of Nations, with the purpose of drafting a convention setting a time limit for the gradual suppression of smoking opium, which in the Hague Convention was to take place merely "as soon as possible." It was also to take up the great recrudescence of opium production in China. (See The Survey, November 15, 1924, p. 183.) At the third plenary session Dr. Alfred Sze, representative for China, after deploring the great increase in Chinese cultivation of the poppy, launched a vigorous attack upon the opium policies of colonies in the Far East—especially the Portuguese colony of Macao, French Indo-China, and British Hong Kong, suggesting that the powers show their good faith by declaring smoking opium harmful and illegal, and restricting import and export to medicinal requirements, licensing all habitual opium smokers. The British representative from India declared it was ironical for China to suggest measures of control when her own over-production was flooding the market, and other representatives insisted that the Chinese offensive was waged to ward off an attack of the Western powers on her present inability to put her own measures of control into effect, a step which might have involved an extension of their commercial regulation of that country.

In the crisis precipitated at this, and in the later session when Japan demanded that Great Britain recognize all import and export certificates signed by representatives of the Japanese government, the contending sides showed a clear alignment of East against West. Japan ultimately won her point—the universal acceptance of import certificates—and a compromise agreement was reached, which provided in brief, that the import, sale and distribution of opium should constitute a state monopoly, except as regards retail sale, and that the right of import, sale and distribution should not be assigned to private interests. However, in countries where opium would not reach consumers through state administration at present, the existing regime might be continued for not more than three years.

This decision begged the real question at issue: the ultimate suppression of the non-medicinal use of opium. Neither the British nor the French proposed clear prohibitory measures; so far there has been no provision even for periodic meetings to review the progress of limitation.

The second conference, which opened on November 17, and at this writing is still in session, brought the clear-cut American proposals (see The Survey for November 1 and 15, 1924) into sharp relief against the evasive plans of the other powers. But discussion of that plan was sharply checked when the Business Committee voted to limit the scope of the conference to the agenda. This cut out consideration of several of the more drastic American provisions except as they might come up incidentally in other debates. There seems little reason to hope that the powers which are competent to realize the American ideal of complete suppression of opium (except for medicinal usage) are willing to meet the consequences which would follow if it were put into practice.

For entwined in the fate of the poppy is that paramount consideration of governments—revenue. The Far Eastern possessions of Great Britain, France, Holland and Portugal are largely dependent on revenues from the traffic in opium; despite the honorable but powerless edicts of the central government, the warring provinces of China have fallen back on it as the one means whereby money can still be squeezed from an over-taxed people. India's opposition on the ground that she will have no discussion of her "internal problem" of opium eating, does not seem convincing in the face of Mr. Porter's statement that he does not want to interfere with the internal affairs of any country. China is not competent at present to enter into any effective agreement, and Japan's participation is bound up in the whole political complex of the Far East.

In the Near East the outlook is a trifle brighter. Turkey, whose opium is of the high grade used almost exclusively for medicines, seems attentive and cooperative. The problems here are to find a substitute crop, equally profitable to farmers, economies and not revenue. Persia, on the other hand, exports medicinal opium, but enjoys a considerable internal revenue from sale of opium for smoking within her border. Recent press dispatches report that she is willing to forego this revenue if the other powers (presumably the United States) will take up a loan of $10,000,000 at not more than 5 per cent interest, one-tenth of the principal to be repaid each year after a period of ten years which would permit internal economic readjustment. No real solution of the world problem can be looked for, however, until England and France bring the strength of empires to bear upon it; and so far the present conferences give no promise of that.

ENDURING brick and stone have been chosen by most benefactors to express their gratitude to the community and their wish to perpetuate a name and an ideal which has stood for much in their own lives. Beautiful buildings on many college campuses, churches, hospitals, libraries and schools stand witness to a generosity to which many of the nation's architectural treasures must be attributed. But even beautiful buildings are sometimes outgrown, or become obsolete and outlive the ideals they were built to house, and more recently those with money to give have tried to endow service—of education, of research, of the application of science to every day life. Here, too, there is a temptation to try to perpetuate for all time the plans which are dearest

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to the heart of the donor, or so to specify a self-perpetuating board that any change in those plans is hedged with almost insuperable difficulties. Signal in its generous response to what is a real need today (and likewise in its frank recognition that that need may cease to exist, or may be assumed by a community educated and able to carry on the work which, of necessity, has been supported privately by those who were quick to see its present value and future possibilities) is the trust fund recently given to the Visiting Nurse Service of the Henry Street Settlement of New York by Mrs. Felix N. Warburg in honor of the seventieth birthday of her mother, Mrs. Jacob H. Schiff, who herself gave the beautiful home of the organization. The income of this fund will provide at present for the salaries of seventeen nurses, but if, at some distant time, the settlement should cease to exist, or its visiting nurse service should be greatly curtailed, or taken over by the city and supported by taxation, or otherwise financed, the distribution committee of the New York Community Trust will then exercise its discretion in employing the fund, in the light of conditions at that time. Had so wise an admission of ignorance of the needs of the future guided the generosity of some of the givers of earlier times, this generation would be spared the sight of unused, and much needed, funds and equipment which are tied up beyond the possibility of service save as a concrete example of the moral of changing needs for changing times.

IN the spring of 1923, the Director of Public Welfare of St. Louis asked the Community Council to make a study of the various city institutions under the Department of Public Welfare with the idea of determining the need of a social service department to serve them all. The result, a report prepared by Mrs. Anna Colina under the direction of the council, and submitted in September 1923, was an emphatic yes. The existing department lacked records, system, internal organization and any plan of coordination with the sectarian volunteers who worked within the institutions or with organizations and families outside it. It was inadequate both in numbers and professional preparation. Obviously the value of the work within the institutions had been crippled by lack of social adjustments which had to be made outside; certainly a fair proportion of the institutions' population were abusing the privilege of free care, or were transients not entitled to the care of the city at all. It was recommended that a social service section be organized under a supervisor who should be a graduate of a school of social work, and who should have had at least one year's experience under direction in a recognized department of medical social service work; her ten assistants should have had two years' experience in a caseworking agency or training in a school of social work or both. The Board of Aldermen passed the bill, to become effective October 16.

Then came the rub. It developed that some of the old investigators, who had been in the city service for six or eight years, lacked qualifications for appointment under these conditions. The aldermen decided that they had acted under a misapprehension. The two years' experience or training was tosh:

"This isn't necessary for a person who only has to go to someone's door and find out whether the patient can pay for his treatments at the City Hospital," declared Alderman Uhlemeyer, who wrote a repeal bill. "These investigators are only collectors, anyway. That's what we passed the bill for."

Furthermore it developed that though nine appointments as assistants had been made, no resident of St. Louis had been able to qualify as supervisor, and a "Boston woman" had been appointed. It is improper, the aldermen are quoted as claiming, to give city jobs to unregistered voters. So the Board of Aldermen recommended a repeal ordinance in the face of the opposition of the Community Council.

WHAT happened afterward must have been as disturbing to political peace of mind as it was gratifying to those who had labored for the cooperation of public and private social agencies in St. Louis, notably the Community Council, which groups one hundred social, civic and welfare organizations, and the City Department of Public Welfare for common service to the whole city.

St. Louis Star

I'LL FURNISH THE TEST QUESTIONS

As soon as the repeal ordinance was introduced public officials called the Community Council Committee and a second piece of propaganda work was instituted. Newspapers carried the fullest publicity, emphasizing the need of trained social workers in city institutions. Individuals wrote commending them upon their attitude. Members of welfare committees appeared before the Board of Aldermen at their public meeting, when at least twenty different private social agencies of St. Louis were heard. At this same meeting the president of the Efficiency Board of the city, the director of the Department of Public Welfare, the Hospital Commissioner, and the superintendents of the largest of the city's institutions appeared before the Board of Aldermen, asking them to withdraw the revoking ordinance.

The result was unexpected. The mayor of the city gave his endorsement to the original ordinance, and promised that if the revoking ordinance were passed by the Board he would veto the bill.

Finally the Board of Aldermen voted to dismiss the bill which would have repealed the social service ordinance and adopted a supplementary ordinance providing for five Class B social workers at $85 a month (the wage which had been paid to the former untrained personnel) who could do miscellaneous odd jobs. Thus were preserved the amenities of politics, while the principle of social service was maintained.

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COMMUNITIES

Religion and Rural Culture

RURAL culture is the series of life-qualities which emanates from the activities involved in the growing of plants and animals for human use. Science, as a part of that culture, has become a recognized and essential phase of adjustment. The qualities of rural life which are really distinctive must arise in proportion to the degree in which rural people discover unified ways of life. What, then, is the place of religion in the evolution of this culture?

The American rural scene from its cultural and religious angles has no parallel in the other great agricultural nations. Rural cultures with distinctive qualities exist in Russia, Denmark, Roumania, China, India, but each contains factors which make comparison with the United States difficult if not impossible. Ethnologically, religiously, politically we possess a divided, divergent, dissociated rural population. Here for the first time in the history of the world a dozen or more distinct ethnographic and cultural groups constitute the agricultural population of a single nation. What has happened to the United States may ultimately befall the remaining portions of the world, but either luckily or unluckily, it has happened to us first. We are confronted with a cultural problem which is peculiar to us and unique in the evolution of rural peoples.

If religion is to serve as one of the means of adjustment in the development of an indigenous American rural culture, we must recognize the particular adjustments essential to such a culture. Our query now is: where can religion function in the evolving adjustments of a rural culture?

REAL culture has its roots in the necessary activities and relations of human beings. Eventually these precipitate an economic problem. So far as agricultural economics is concerned, there is now apparent agreement that the farmer must set up cooperative processes if he is not to be the victim of external exploitation. The rapidity with which cooperative marketing has won favor in this country since the war and the absence of opposition are both astonishing and alarming. The American farmer is now likely to accept the principle and practise of cooperation in precisely the same manner in which he has received the manure-spreader, the Ford car and the Delco lighting outfit, i. e., as an external adjustment.

But the cooperative process is one which deals with unknowns; it involves both inner and outer adjustments to life. It assumes that the economic life may be so ordered as to permit the production of good commodities to be sold at a reasonable price; that everybody engaged in the business either as producer or expert is cooperatively honest. In fact, the cooperative movement is one of the most far-reaching and audacious assumptions ever made about life. Farmers are entering upon this new way of life with much the same spirit as is revealed when they "take a chance" on a cheap automobile at an auction sale. They continue to think of the cooperative marketing association as something external to themselves. In many cases this attitude is, of course, traceable to the leaders and experts now in control. There has been and still is a firm conviction among many of these leaders that marketing farm products either cooperatively or through middlemen is a purely technical problem for experts. They seek to bind the individual member to his new collectivity by means of a legal contract. The fundamental ethics which stands as a foundation to the movement is that of legal force and coercion.

Under its present technique cooperation may succeed. It may bring to the farmer an increased proportion of the money spent by consumers for his products and thereby produce economic success for both the farmers who are members and those who are non-members. But even if it does succeed materially, this movement will not, unless its technique is altered, make a wholesome contribution to American rural culture. From the religious point of view, cooperative enterprise cannot become ethically and psychologically successful until the enforcement of a legal contract is unnecessary. The assumption that human behavior may reach levels where one farmer will not betray his fellow-producer is empty so long as legal compulsion remains in the background as an explanation of integrity. Religious ethics begins where legal ethics leaves off.

RURAL leadership in the United States is on the whole incompatible with a thorough-going process of cultural development. Its impact upon rural people is overwhelmingly materialistic, prosaic, dull and uninspiring. As a prerequisite to a cultural renaissance, may I propose that an expedition be sent to study agricultural methods in Siberia and that the personnel be composed of 90 per cent of the deans of agriculture in the agricultural colleges, 85 per cent of the directors of extension, 80 per cent of the agricultural agents or farm demonstrators, 50 per cent of the home demonstration agents and boys' and girls' club leaders, and a like number of 'bosses' and office-holders in farm organizations. While the expedition is away it might also be beneficial if the United States Department of Agriculture could be reorganized into a school of rehabilitation or re-education for mis-educated specialists. One of the obvious objections is the effect which the proposed expedition might have upon Siberians. In this connection one can only hope for the best.

More seriously, is it not startling that the American farmer retains so much of idealism and cultural hunger? His instructors—and of all elements of our population the farmer is the most-tutored—are uniformly persons who have been trained to view life through the lens of some technical speciality. They seldom see life as a whole. The impact which these leaders make upon the farmer is always specific.

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They look at the farmer in relation to hogs or alfalfa, but they almost never see hogs and alfalfa in relation to the total personality of the farmer. One would naturally think that so much teaching on behalf of economic and technical factors in agriculture would have long since made farmers successful, but he is indeed a bold observer who views contemporary agriculture with optimism. These leaders fail to realize that progress is general and not specific; that one sector of life pushed too far in advance throws the entire line out of adjustment. While they are busily engaged in improving or attempting to improve material factors, other equally integral factors are neglected so that in the end rural culture becomes an unstable, unsatisfying mode of life.

This contention is frequently answered with the statement that schools, churches and societies of various types must supply the cultural needs, but where are these institutions to secure their moral and pecuniary support so long as official leaders lock themselves within their air-tight compartments? Sadly enough most of the influential leaders to whom I have referred do not live in the country. They live in cities and merely circulate through the country as peripatetic experts. They are for the most part infected with the foot-and-mouth disease; one sees them usually in the act of making a speech or running to catch a train. (As an extension worker I was myself thoroughly infected for four years, and three years of living in a rural community have not yet been sufficient to immunize me completely.)

If the refining influence of religion and culture is to play a creative part in rural life, serious attention must be given to the quality of rural leaders. Witness for example the pitiful rôle which the rural press has played in connection with the proposed constitutional amendment to grant to Congress the power to regulate child labor. The editor of only one farm paper has thus far spoken in favor of this amendment. Those who have written editorials against it have falsified the issue; they have attempted to lead their readers to believe that the amendment is itself a statute law and that if it were passed Congress would thereby begin to interfere with the labor of children on farms. I have interviewed three editors of farm journals, all of whom believe personally in the justness of the amendment, but none of whom dares to say so in his paper. I do not know whether the rural churches as units are rising to higher humanistic levels on this occasion but I do know that the Federal Council of Churches has waged an energetic campaign on behalf of the amendment. Plenty of self-styled rural leaders are ready to be spokesmen for the farmer's dollar but one must search far and wide to discover a rural leader who will frankly strive for those things which dollars cannot buy. If bread is what the American farmer lives for, he is well supplied with leaders who are interested in bread; if he still feels the need of the bread of life, his plight is pitiable indeed.

THE affairs of life which stand most in need of the purifying impulse of religion are those in which human purposes are found to be in opposition. Nothing creative, nothing fine, nothing pure can emerge from a community dominated by petty jealousies, conflicting purposes and cumulative hatreds. There can be no whole-hearted enlistment in an engaging culture until a method is devised for making peace on earth and good-will among men a reality instead of a pious wish. Religion, particularly the Christian religion, has traditionally presumed to have something to say concerning the ways of peace and harmony. This is not the place to discuss in detail just what religion has to contribute but rather how it states what it presumes to have to say. What means has the church devised for influencing human behavior? Are its techniques susceptible of general application? Do the methods for influencing behavior tend to weave themselves into the community's social process? In short, do the techniques for influencing human behavior used by the church contribute to a progressive culture?

Preaching, teaching and worshipping as the means, with conversion as the end, represent both the method and the purpose of ordinary church function. So far as the rural church is concerned, the most important function is preaching. In fact, in many localities the church service is still referred to as the "preaching." Conversion, the decision to embrace religion permanently as a way of life, is expected as a product of preaching. Perhaps the one outstanding contribution to religious psychology which the Protestant churches have made is that which finds its concentrated expression in Billy Sunday and his fellow evangelists, exhorters, revivalists. They possess a technique for influencing human behavior which is so thoroughly perfected that they can guarantee in advance the number of converts to be anticipated in a given community. They accomplish on the grand scale what the resident pastor attempts in his humble way. The most successful revivalists cannot, of course, remain long in a single community; no community could permanently maintain the emotional pressure essential for their purposes. An evangelist must perforce remain somewhat external to his clientele.

Is preaching a valid method for exerting wholesome influence upon the behavior of human beings? The answer, in view of those portions of modern psychology where substantial agreement may be found, must be an unmistakable negative. Preaching is not only inadequate but as currently practised it is a pernicious inhibition to more valid methods of changing conduct. Religious truth cannot be expounded; it must be discovered. The preacher seeks for the truth in history but religious truth must forever be a projection into the future. The preacher creates through strange terminology and sensual intonations an atmosphere of abnormality which separates him from his congregation; the atmosphere of unreality produced in the church cannot be reproduced in field, farm and home on the morrow. The preacher carries on a one-sided encounter; he talks *at* his congregation and even if he does portray valid religious experiences, members of the audience have no opportunity of matching these with their own. One of the reasons for the existence of so many preachers is the fact that individuals have shifted the responsibility of spiritual discovery from themselves to clerical employes. This simplifies the problem—in fact, it simplifies it into extinction.

Preaching, if it is to be continued at all as a central technique of the church, will need to be revamped both in regard to method and content. Religion will remain external so long as a priestly caste within which religious experiences are differentiated from those of the mass of people exists. The tyranny of external authority is the barrier which stands in the way of spiritual freedom. Whatever symbolizes this authority, be it creed, dogma, synod, bishop, superintendent, preacher, elder, deacon or janitor, must be dis-

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solved and made fluid before well-meaning Christians can discover the inner means for well-being.

These three adjustments may not seem to be the most significant which rural groups need to make in order to approach cultural solidarity, and obviously there are many more. They merely happen to be the ones which interest me most and which appear to me to be excellent points of departure for practical programs. I believe that there are techniques for making these adjustments which are satisfactorily scientific and which at the same time leave room for the higher reaches of unpredictable spiritual experience. At least the direction of these techniques may be suggested in the accompanying box. They seem to me to lead toward creative adjustments. I have faith in the possibilities of a rural culture in which the lustre of religious aspirations will glorify the humblest acts of man. And I believe that "as the art of life is learned, it will be found at last that all lovely things are also necessary."

E. C. LINDEMAN

Come-and-See

COME-AND-SEE tours have been used in some cities, among them Cleveland and Philadelphia, as an adjunct to community chest campaigns. Newton, Massachusetts, recently tried them as a prelude to an all-day Community Welfare Conference and an exhibition of the work of the welfare agencies of the community in which some thirty organizations and well over a hundred volunteer workers joined under the leadership of the Central Council.

A letter of invitation for the tours was sent to a carefully selected list of about a thousand people, and these mail invitations were followed up by personal telephone invitations on the part of a committee of volunteers—one or more for each of the eleven "villages" of Newton. The result was two afternoon and two evening tours, with tour groups ranging from thirty to sixty-eight people (in all, 210 tourists). The mayor, the assistant superintendent of schools, and two well-known business men acted as tour leaders. About half of the people who made reservations for the tours indicated that they would bring their own automobiles and would carry extra passengers; the rest of the guests were transported in machines furnished by volunteers for the occasion.

The tours were restricted to those social agencies which had something of human interest to show at their buildings. Each tour included from three to five organizations representative of various types of social work. For example, one evening tour group assembled at the Young Men's Christian Association. A simple sixty-cent supper was served by the Women's Auxiliary of the Association. The tour leader spoke briefly, welcoming the guests, describing the route to be followed on the tour, and suggesting that the agencies to be visited carried on only a fraction of all the social and health work of the community. Because the "office agencies" were not included in the sights to be seen, a representative of one of them—the family welfare society—spoke briefly of the service of her organization.

The general secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association led the visitors through the Association building, where the ordinary evening program was in progress, plus a special exhibition in the swimming pool.

Leaving the Y. M. C. A., the group visited in turn

Toward a Rural Culture

1. Economic movements, such as cooperative marketing, will not defeat their own ends as specialized organizations if their leaders once give recognition to the fact that man behaves as a total personality. They will then begin to see that the cooperative movement bears a relation to social, to psychological and to religious processes, and will then be in position to align cooperative marketing with a truly cultural development.

2. Leaders who close their eyes to the whole nature of man will always prosecute specialized interests at the expense of total progress. They will keep rural culture continuously in a jumble of unequal, one-sided evolutions and devolutions. If the present tendency, the elevation of economic leaders, continues; there will, of course, be no possibility of creating a rural culture in America. Even if these leaders could produce prosperity for farmers, they would be unable to build rural communities in which evolving needs of life could be adequately met. They have built up habits of life which exclude cultural and humanistic interests.

3. The most promising avenue of escape from narrow and increasingly false leadership is to set up methods which will permit rural groups to act intelligently upon decisions arrived at by means of their own resources. This necessitates adult education and a substitution of discussion and exchange of experience for sermons, speeches and external forms of authority. It constitutes a democratic effort to put experts in their proper place: they should be "on tap but never on top."

4. In some manner any group which aims to be something more than a cog in our economic machine must learn how to keep inner resources on a par with external activities. Every new invention should become the starting-point for the release of energies to be used on non-economic levels. Only in this way will it be possible to create an adequate spiritual dynamic to keep *things* in their subordinate places.

5. The creation of resources of spiritual energy is a process which must go on in small groups. Energy results from purposes matched with adequate means for fulfillment and bringing together purposes and means is an experimental procedure in which only small numbers may participate at first. For my part, I should prefer ten such small clinical groups experimenting with Christian hypotheses to one hundred churches where the Christian assumptions have degenerated into verbalism.

6. Modern adjustments come more and more to be adjustments of groups rather than of individuals. This is now no less true of farmers than of city dwellers. All of us in the modern world find our places through group allegiances which represent our dominant interests. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the individual human organism is the adjusting mechanism. Groups and institutions are merely means toward individual fulfillment. Once this fact is grasped it will become easier to enlist right-minded persons in purposes rather than institutions. When the institution is considered to be the end as well as the means, energies and loyalties which might have gone to the development of more effective means are devoted to the perpetuation of fictitious ends.

E. C. L.

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a school center, a Swedish home for the aged, a neighborhood house, and a hospital. In each institution the executive or some board member told briefly of the kind of service given and then conducted the visitors through the building, or at least through enough of it to give a cross-section view of the work.

As an educational project, it is felt that the Come-and-See tours were distinctly successful. The majority of the tour guests had never seen the work of the welfare agencies at first-hand; and the questions and comments during the trips indicated a real interest in what was being seen. One visitor was so much impressed by the work of a certain institution that he voluntarily sent them a check for a hundred dollars the next day. The same institution reported that several of the tour guests came back later, of their own accord, bringing with them friends whom they wished to interest.

On one of the evening tours a group of some twenty young people from a church young people's society were among the guests. Two students from one of the vocational classes of the high school also went on one of the tours, to report back to their class. As a sequel to the tours the Council has been asked to arrange for another special tour for thirty high school boys and girls representing classes in community civics.

ARTHUR DUNHAM

Between Neighbors

NEIGHBORHOOD organization is by its nature provincial, and as a result the best work and the most effective methods of community organization are little known, even to workers in the same field but in other localities. This is especially true in New York, where a large number of organizing experiments have been focussed, and where the mere spread of population increases the isolation of a particular neighborhood group.

To meet this difficulty, the Community Committee has begun the publication of a series of studies each presenting objectively a single New York neighborhood organization. The first, dealing with the Bowling Green Neighborhood Association, suggests in its opening paragraphs how dramatic a situation may fall within the view of such a fact-finding survey:

> At the tip of lower Manhattan, from Liberty Street south to the Battery and from the East River to the Hudson lies one of the most interesting areas in New York. Here the rolling farms of the early Dutch colonists, commanding a view of the great harbor and the wooded Jersey shores, gave way in the nineteenth century to tenements for factory workers which within our own generation have been shouldered aside by huge steel and concrete office buildings. No sharper contrasts in this city of amazing variety are to be found than this tiny district reveals. Within it are the offices of the greatest financial powers of our nation, such as J. P. Morgan and Company, Kuhn, Loeb and Company, the Consolidated Stock Exchange, the Equitable Life Insurance Company. And huddled in the shadows of their stately and magnificent buildings are some of the most antiquated and wretched tenements to be found on the whole island, where dwell some fifteen hundred families, mostly foreign born, from agricultural communities of the Old World, bewildered, helpless, struggling under terrific handicaps for food and shelter in the most highly industrialized community of the world. Here are not only riches and destitution, opportunity and degradation, but a wide variety of languages, social customs, habits of life, religious beliefs, attitudes of mind, often sharply opposed to one another and to those we call "American." If one were seeking symbols, not of America as it is hoped she will be, but of America as it actually is, one could not choose a better one than this district which carries still the quaint name it bore in early colonial days—"Bowling Green."

It is not often that extreme wealth and poverty are found in such close juxtaposition and it is not always that we find them united by a very real bond of organization, by mutual helpfulness and sympathy. In Bowling Green that has been accomplished. The organization, formed in 1915, is called the Bowling Green Neighborhood Association. It is financed largely by contributing members from the great firms and corporations in Wall Street and it is devoting itself to aiding the residents in their fight against bad housing and ill-health, to interpreting the various nationalities to each other, to persuading them to adopt American standards of hygiene and recreation, to giving both adults and children opportunities for education, play and work.

The report proceeds to an analysis of the organization methods of the leaders and of the development of local interest in civic and social improvement as well as the difficulties and successes in fostering neighborhood support and democratic control.

The Community Committee was formed a year ago by persons prominent in the five different types of neighborhood organizations: the settlements, neighborhood associations, community centers run by the Board of Education, independent community center associations meeting in the schools, and the community councils. The need of better understanding and closer cooperative efforts between these groups has been felt for a number of years. Efforts to bring them together met with varying degrees of success until a council was formed of delegates from each of the central federations. The council held conferences for a year and created the present Community Committee, a common service body through which acquaintance and understanding is to be built up among those who are expected to cooperate. The Committee is not a federation nor an officially delegated organ of the federations of neighborhood organizations named, but has adopted a policy of service of a kind acceptable to and approved by all of them. Its vice presidents, constituting the executive committee, are selected each from the most active leaders in one of the five groups.

A better knowledge on the part of the workers in each type of neighborhood organization of the work and workers in the others was unanimously desired, but just as unanimously a general academic survey was rejected. The result has been a growing acquaintance on the part of the leaders of the federations through association on the Committee. Secondly, through a series of trips to a settlement, a council, a center, a neighborhood association, and so on successively, the local organizers and workers are learning of other sorts of community service.

A dozen neighborhoods ranging from one of 120 families to one of 350,000 population have been helped by the Committee in ways requested by the community groups in question. Exhibits have been prepared; studies of population, health, recreation, employment, motion picture houses, etc. have been made as organization problems for the local organization required facts most easily secured and tabulated by a common service staff. Organization procedure has been facilitated by a systematic knowledge of the history and organization of a couple of hundred community groups.

The Committee proposes to continue its present type of service for two more years after which period it is hoped the groups will have succeeded sufficiently in self-evaluation to cooperate as closely as is practically helpful and unanimously desirable.

LEROY E. BOWMAN

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The Seventh Day

SHOULD public playgrounds be open on Sunday? Some of the towns which have secured play fields through the cooperation of the Harmon Foundation have been raising the question recently. When it has been referred to the Foundation for answer—though, of course, the decision must rest ultimately with local public opinion—the donor has approved the "reasonable, dignified" use of the playgrounds on Sunday.

When the London County Council took similar action a few summers ago, if memory serves, there was vigorous protest from the folks who write letters to the Times. Here in the United States the question is still decidedly an open one. It was discussed, for instance, at a meeting of superintendents of recreation in connection with the National Recreation Congress at Atlantic City this fall, where "there was a general feeling on the part of recreation executives present that Sunday offers an opportunity for providing wholesome recreation, though the form of recreation is often of a different character from that of other days and there is a different emphasis." A clergyman from Scranton, the Rev. R. P. Kreitler, declared that

> Churches must realize that liberty in the use of Sunday is necessary for recreation of the people spiritually and otherwise.... The church cannot efficiently provide a seven-day recreation itself, but must cooperate with the larger community interests in recreation.

When the Playground and Recreation Association of America asked for the facts in the spring of 1923, fifty-six cities reported that playgrounds were open on Sunday as compared with fifty-five where they were closed. But in the cities where playgrounds were in use on Sunday, less than half provided leaders and supervisors on that day; in thirty-five the grounds were open for unsupervised use. It would be hard to draw deductions from the distribution of these cities as to sectional variations in Sunday observance, for there were eastern, western and southern playgrounds in both lists.

In answer to various questions it was indicated:

> that the majority of playgrounds under supervision are open afternoon and evening (closed in the morning so as not to interfere with church attendance). The unsupervised playgrounds are in general open all day.
>
> The majority of cities having Sunday recreation under leadership report that their programs are less formal than for week days; noisy games not being included. Sacramento, Denver, Baltimore, New Orleans, Vincennes (Ind.), and Fresno (Calif.) state that their Sunday programs are practically the same as the week-day program. . . .
>
> Only twelve cities report a definitely unfavorable reaction to Sunday recreation activities from church forces. How-

How Long Fork Began to Play on Sunday

IT is a far cry from the conventional churches and playgrounds of the cities to Long Fork, up in the Kentucky hills, where one travels up one creek, over the divide, and down the other into lonely laurel-thicketed valleys. But the way the Hard-shell Baptists came to Sunday play there is not without significance. From the settlement school worker who began the playground on Long Fork, comes the story at our request:

"Four years ago when the first extension work was begun on Long Fork there existed among the older people more misgivings about playground *any day* in the week. The folk dances, ring games and athletic games taught by the extension worker when she made her weekly visits to the community soon became popular with the young people. The older generation, on the other hand, placed them in the same category with their deep-rooted idea of dances—"the running of sets"—which they had come to associate with whiskey, shootings and killings. When it began to be noised about that the extension worker "was a-holdin' dances" on the creek a number of parents, although they had not been on the playground to see for themselves, refused to allow their children to partake in what they considered a device of the devil. A considerable number of parents, however, who had watched their children in their wholesome new play, continued to let them attend and in a little while it was demonstrated that the young ones were simply having "a peaceable and civil time" on the playground. The playground idea was more or less rooted as far as it did not interfere with the home activities of the children and young people by the time the settlement house was completed.

"Before the advent of the settlement house the Sunday School idea was almost as foreign to this community of Baptists ('hard-shell' for the most parts) as the week-day playground had been before the coming of the extension worker into the neighborhood. Some of the people actually had scruples against Sunday schools as such because of their creed. In spite of this the plan, as outlined by the worker simply as a Sunday meeting, appealed to the majority, and a Sunday school was organized and held in the schoolhouse each Sunday.

"The people as a whole, however, being naturally skeptical of gatherings of any sort because of their past experiences with them, feared that trouble would come out of the Sunday meetings. The workers, on the other hand, hoped to make of them a much needed opportunity for wholesome social intercourse. Necessarily they had to be very cautious in the beginning. At first the meetings consisted merely of singing, Bible stories and an occasional speech by some "outside" visitor. As it became apparent that they were being held without any serious consequences the people began to linger afterwards to chat socially. Out of this hour following the usual meeting grew the Sunday playground. It came entirely from the people themselves.

"Aside from a few lingering fears that something would be bound to happen if such gatherings continued there was little criticism of the Sunday use of the playground. Sunday was the only day of the week when their work was entirely suspended. Formerly they had spent it according to their individual inclinations, and their ways probably would not have been considered orthodox in some more enlightened neighborhoods. Their new Sunday habits merely meant that their inclinations were directed in other channels. The question of whether it was right or wrong to play games on Sunday was not the issue. With them it was entirely one of whether it was safe to mingle in groups and whether it was a profitable and satisfying way to use their one free day in the week."

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ever . . . a number of cities have not attempted Sunday programs because of unfavorable sentiment existing in the community.

It appears that some playgrounds are in use because there is no way to keep folks from playing on them if they want to! Says a southern supervisor:

The playgrounds are open as there is no way of keeping people out. But there is no supervision on Sunday. There is more of a moral hazard due to opposition by churches due to Sunday supervision, than the other six days of supervision.

And another rather negative motive turns up in Indiana:

It has been thought wiser to give out permits for tennis and baseball than to have quarrels as to use of nets and diamonds. To this the ministerial association and the priests have agreed.

An Ohio worker is decisive in his personal opinion, but his city is not listed among those which have open playgrounds:

We feel that public recreation facilities should be open on Sunday to meet the demands of people who have probably this one day in the week to play, and we believe this can be done without interference with the rights and thoughts of others.

Some of the obstacles which may face those of his opinion may be gathered from such comments as these:

I believe that the municipal recreational activities should be a reflection of what the people who constitute the community want, and it is quite evident that the playing of soccer football, rugby football, tennis and golf are thought to be quite proper in our community. However, it is contrary to the state law and we have been obliged to violate the law to do what we think is the proper thing.

Any activity on Sunday—wholesome I mean—is good if the ministers of the city approve, but no organization that I know of can afford to go against the wishes of the ministers. It is good for the people but it is hard on the workers to be deprived of Sunday.

And there is perhaps unconscious irony in the comment of two workers, one of whom notes that "many thousands will congregate on a Sunday afternoon to listen to a good wholesome, yet educational concert," while the other complains that "The field of Sunday recreation has been preempted by the churches in the past. There is a crying need for a wholesome program."

HARTFORD, Connecticut, has held its first community chest campaign. It was of special interest because the chest has been, to an unusual degree, an outgrowth of social agency cooperation and because its executive, Margaret F. Byington, came to her organizing task out of long experience in family welfare work. (The assistant secretary is also a woman, Ethel S. Bestor). Nineteen agencies (including the Central Council of Social Agencies) appealed through the chest for a budget of $315,000; the amount subscribed in the ten days ending November 17 was $374,000.

JUST AS the Nordics had the ports of entry to the United States nicely bottled up against possible contamination by land or sea, a fresh immigration problem began to cloud the distant horizon, and the President has had to issue an executive order relating to Aliens Entering the United States on Airships. This lays down regulations for the listing of the crews of airships arriving in the United States "who intend to leave the United States on the same airships on which they arrive," provides that alien passengers coming on airships must behave like alien passengers coming on seaships, and suggests, perhaps a bit naively, that "in case of airships coming to the United States from foreign countries the Secretary of State should be informed in advance of the date and place of expected arrival, in order that the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Labor may be advised." The order is reported in The Interpreter, published by the Foreign Language Information Service, but no information is given as to the appropriate action in case an airship neglects to make an appointment before poking its nose over the aerial frontier.

NEW YORK STATE is not only committed to more and better state parks—the voters approved a $15,000,000 bond issue at the last election by a majority of about 1,000,000—but it is experimenting actively in the effort to make the parks it has more accessible and more useful to its citizens. Raymond H. Torrey, secretary of the New York State Council of Parks, reported some of these experiments in his address before the National Recreation Congress in October. "At Alleghany State Park in western New York," he said, "an experiment in providing tents, with fuel, water and supplies from a park store, for casual motorists who rambled in without shelter of their own, has proved highly satisfactory to the public. As many as 5,000 people were thus entertained on pleasant weekends this summer. Greater recreational use of the Adirondack and Catskill state forest preserves is under consideration by the Conservation Commission, perhaps through a system of leasing camp sites, for fairly long terms, on which responsible citizens may build modest camps, with a low maximum cost, to keep the privilege democratic and free from abuses. (This plan was first adopted in the Pennsylvania state forests.) The Palisades Interstate Park, which leads all the other state parks of New York, and probably any other park in the Union, in the number of visitors—over six million in 1924 so far—has tried out a system of commissaries for the public this summer, with success and a profit of $10,000 which will be put back into the park service, as all its receipts now are under an amendment to the state finance law."

SUPPOSE NOBODY CARED, the little girl on crutches who has travelled so far at the beck and call of community chest publicity people, and still turns up on posters year after year, has lost her crutches and acquired a sister in Philadelphia. The new youngsters, drawn by Jessie Willcox Smith for the annual campaign of the Welfare Federation in November, appear in the corner below. Meanwhile the original waif, crutches and all, has ousted the knightly figure of Saint Louis himself from the device of the St. Louis Community Fund, suggesting that sentiment is more valuable than romance in raising hard cash. The seal in the upper corner might be supposed to indicate a new dignity and restraint in community chest publicity, but Grand Rapids is still using along with it a cartoon showing the "feeble, fallen, needy, blind" etc. in the most approved sob-stuff style. Particularly interesting among the fall crop of campaign posters is one in two colors used in Cleveland shops, which unfortunately cannot be reproduced here. There is a pathetic small boy, to be sure, but he is rather overshadowed by a husky one who is jumping almost clean out of the picture. The caption reads "The Making of a Man. Many of your fellow workers and citizens got their start through Community Fund Settlements. Healthy, alert, boys and girls using these opportunities will be good workers and citizens of tomorrow."

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HEALTH

The First Fifty Years

WITHIN a few days newspaper headlines blazoned one of their periodic announcements that American girls were condemning themselves to early graves because they smoked cigarettes, or wore thin silk stockings and low-necked dresses, or danced too much and ate too sparingly. That the story below gave scant basis for the alarms sounded by the headlines is comparatively unimportant from the point of view of popular psychology, for those headlines echoed a firm popular misconception which is as unscientific as it is prevalent. Put in general terms, it might be stated this way: Americans have lost the ability of their pioneer forefathers to survive hardship and attain a ripe old age; civilization has sapped vitality; we moderns live sickly and die young.

Fortunately the accuracy of that generalization can be determined quite objectively without reliance upon the prejudice which fosters it or the optimism which combats it. Public health, as a conscious, organized aim, has a history of half a century, and this year, 1924, which has registered the completion of half a century of one of the pioneer state health departments—that of Michigan—brings forward a number of reviews of public health progress, in terms of human life, which may be consulted as objective measuring sticks.

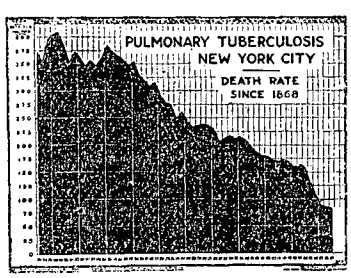
It is hard for us, who take Boards of Health for granted, to realize that a half century does bound most of their history. There was a sanitary survey in 1849 in Massachusetts, due to alarm over the cholera epidemic in Europe; New Orleans, which lost 8,000 of her 50,000 inhabitants from cholera in 1832 and 1849-50 enacted a law in 1855 establishing a board of health. By 1870 more lasting efforts were apparent. In 1869 Massachusetts established a board with more comprehensive duties and powers. California followed the next year. 1872 saw the establishment of the American Public Health Association, and the following year the start of work in Michigan. The cholera epidemic of 1873 and that of yellow fever, which devastated the southern states in 1878, called attention to the need for some central sanitary organization, and in 1878 Congress created a National Board of Health to investigate the causes and prevention of communicable disease, to indicate measures of national importance and act as a center for information. This body went out of existence when funds for its support failed of appropriation, and its functions were taken up by the United States Public Health Service in 1883.

Even in those early years the public health movement was trying to build its practice upon a sound basis of scientific experiment, though in the light of later knowledge, some of the experiments sound amusing enough. In Michigan, during the seventies, the State Board of Health sent out a questionnaire to physicians all over the country asking if in their experience, it seemed likely that tomatoes caused cancer. At that time tomatoes were grown in flower gardens as ornamental plants and known as "love apples." By a process of reasoning unfortunately not yet obsolete, the new habit of eating them was declared popularly to be the cause of the disease. Another questionnaire on diphtheria disclosed the fact that the majority of the physicians of that time considered it not contagious, but due to sewer gas. It was with great difficulty that the Board of Health tried to popularize the idea that tuberculosis was communicable after Koch discovered the tubercle bacillus. Monkeys were used in another experiment to try to find out whether or not pneumonia was due to ozone in the air, since it occurred most frequently in winter when ozone is the most abundant; the only result was the conclusion that cold air made monkeys hungry but apparently did not cause them to contract pneumonia!

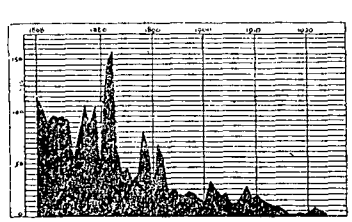
However, it is by the actual numerical records that social control of the public health is to be gaged most accurately. As few extensive and continuous records can be traced back of 1870 in this country it is, of course, impossible to prove statistically that men are healthier and longer-lived creatures now than in the days of the colonies, but a visit to any old New England graveyard, with its pitiful rows of tiny headstones, and its frequent records of the death of "wife and mother," in her early twenties or thirties, gives ground for solid doubt. The cause of one-tenth of all the deaths in New York City in the first two decades of American independence—smallpox—has practically ceased to exist in that city.

However, since the burst of interest

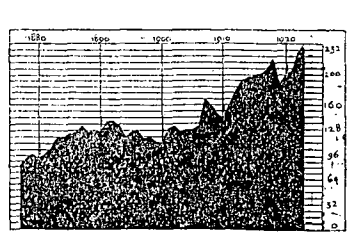
Ups and Downs in the Health of New York



Pulmonary tuberculosis has steadily decreased in New York City since 1868



Scarlet fever shows jagged peaks until 1891, but in common with many other menaces of child health, has since come under control



The diseases of middle age show an upward trend. Heart diseases reached in 1923 a ratio of 232 deaths per 100,000 population

Charts from N. Y. Tuberculosis Assn. and Bulletin of N. Y. Dept. of Health

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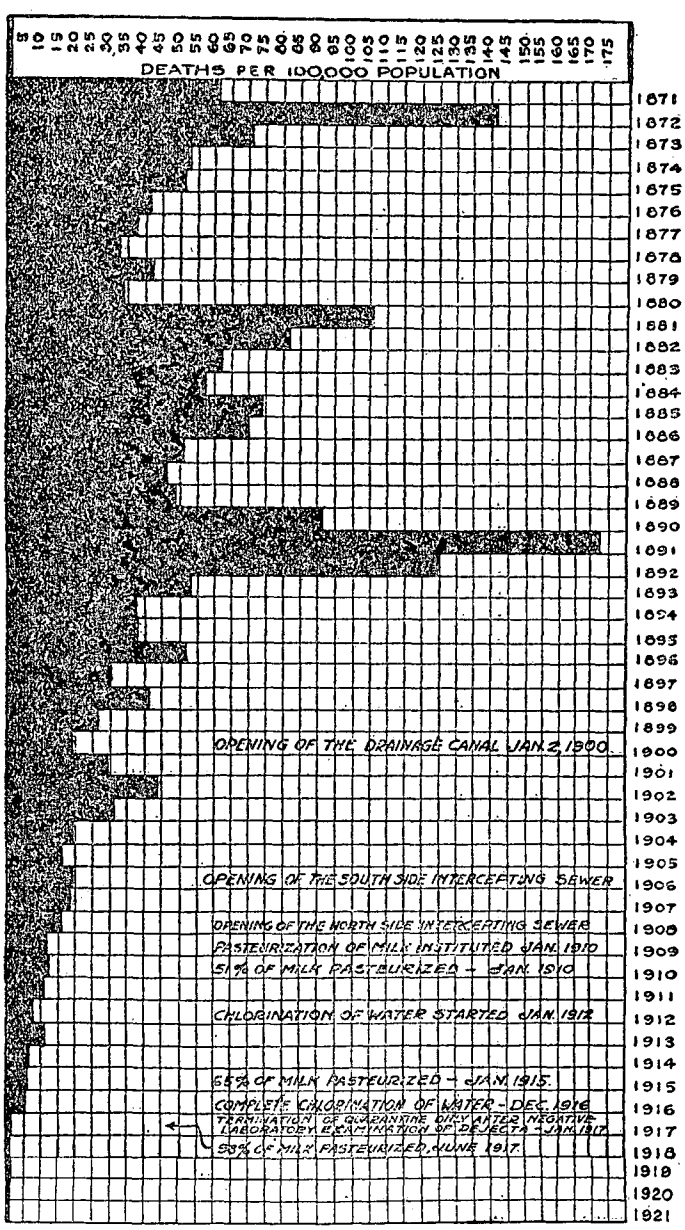
and activity which followed the Civil War the records are clear reading. Progress in eradicating certain specific diseases, notably tuberculosis and typhoid fever, is so well known that it is hardly necessary to do more than point to recent graphic records of the gain in certain communities. Yellow fever and cholera have disappeared from the records; smallpox has become almost a clinical curiosity in well organized communities; diphtheria takes only a fraction of its former toll. The saving in babies' lives is well-known; gloomy predictions that babies would be carried along through the first year only to swell the mortality lists a little later, are contradicted by such compilations as the one published recently by the Department of Health of New York City, which shows a continuous decrease in the deathrate of the whole group of children under five years. For apparently the added knowledge and care which saved the lives of 17,900 babies in New York City last year (lives which would have been snuffed out if an infant mortality rate so recent as that of 1898 had prevailed in 1923) not only have prevented death, but also have resulted in better health for the children who survived. The "expectation of life" has been stretched for each one of the seven ages. In fifty years the general deathrate of New York City has been reduced by 61 per cent, and the deathrate of children under five by 81 per cent. On the basis of New York's present population, that saving of 61 per cent means the lives of 116,000 people in one year.

More interesting, however, than the number of deaths prevented is the added measure of life in the United States brought about by these advances in public health and sanitation. At the time of its fiftieth anniversary the American Public Health Association called attention to the lengthening span of life in England and this country and expressed the conviction that the next half century might see it increased by twenty years. In a recent paper, Dr. Louis I. Dublin, statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, declares that approximately eighteen years have been added to the average American life span since 1855; four years of this gain were achieved in the decade 1910-20. The average American baby has at birth an expectation of 58 years of life. This record is surpassed by New Zealand with an expectation of 60 years, and Australia, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and possibly Holland. The record of this country, however, is hampered by a mixture of racial stocks, some of which, such as the Negro and the Irish, have a much lower average longevity than the older native stocks, the English, Italians and Jews in this country. Charts worked out by Dr. Dublin show that the life line has been stretched appreciably in other parts of the world —England, France, Switzerland, Sweden and Germany. Children of today may reasonably expect a life nearly twenty years longer than the average of the time of their grandfathers, whether in this country or in Europe.

In any progress, however, there are eddies and backwaters. While the high point of the half century's progress has been the saving of the lives of babies under one year, there has been very little improvement in the saving of the lives of babies *under one month*. For a time, about 1910, it seemed as though there was actually an increase in the death rates of middle-aged people; studies based on later statistics show, however, that the age group 45-64 has also shown a marked decline in mortality over the whole period since 1900. It is predicted that this decrease will continue even more markedly as the children who have been spared scarlet fever, diphtheria, "growing pains" and other diseases of childhood which used to be taken as a matter of

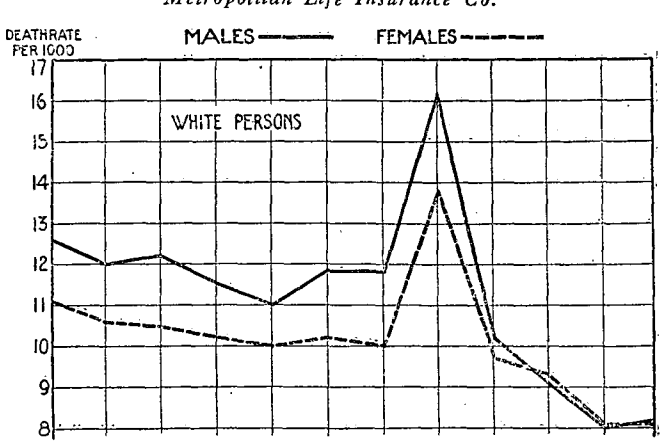
CONTROL OF TYPHOID FEVER IN CHICAGO, 1871 TO 1921


DEATHS PER 100000 POPULATION
OPENING OF THE DRAINAGE CANAL JAN. 2, 1900
OPENING OF THE SOUTH SIDE INTERCEPTING SEWER
OPENING OF THE NORTH SIDE INTERCEPTING SEWER
PASTEURIZATION OF MILK INSTITUTED JAN. 1910
51% OF MILK PASTEURIZED - JAN. 1910
CHLORINATION OF WATER STARTED JAN. 1912
65% OF MILK PASTEURIZED - JAN. 1915.
COMPLETE CHLORINATION OF WATER - DEC. 1916
TERMINATION OF QUARANTINE OF NEW WATER NEGATIVE LABORATORY EXAMINATION OF EFFECTS - JAN. 1917
98% OF MILK PASTEURIZED, JUNE 1917.

Chicago Department of Health Weekly Bulletin

MEN VS. WOMEN

For the first time in history the death rate of women tends to exceed that of men. This graph shows the experience of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.



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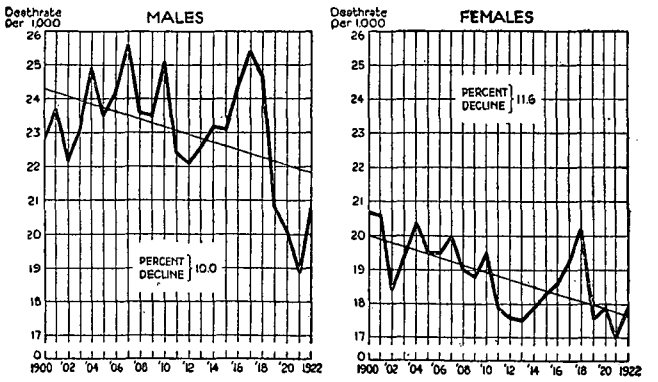
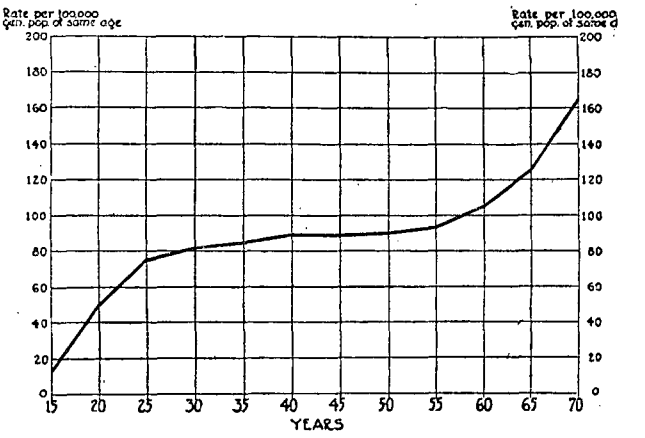
The lives of middle aged people as well as babies are being saved. This graph shows the trend of mortality at ages 45 to 64 years, charting the death rate per 1,000 among males and females in New York State, 1900 to 1922



Reprinted from Statistical Bulletin Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.

The older age groups, however, show the highest rates for the onset of mental disease. Distribution by age groups in persons admitted to institutions for the insane. This graph shows first admissions in New York State, 1920



Reprinted from State Hospital Quarterly, February, 1924

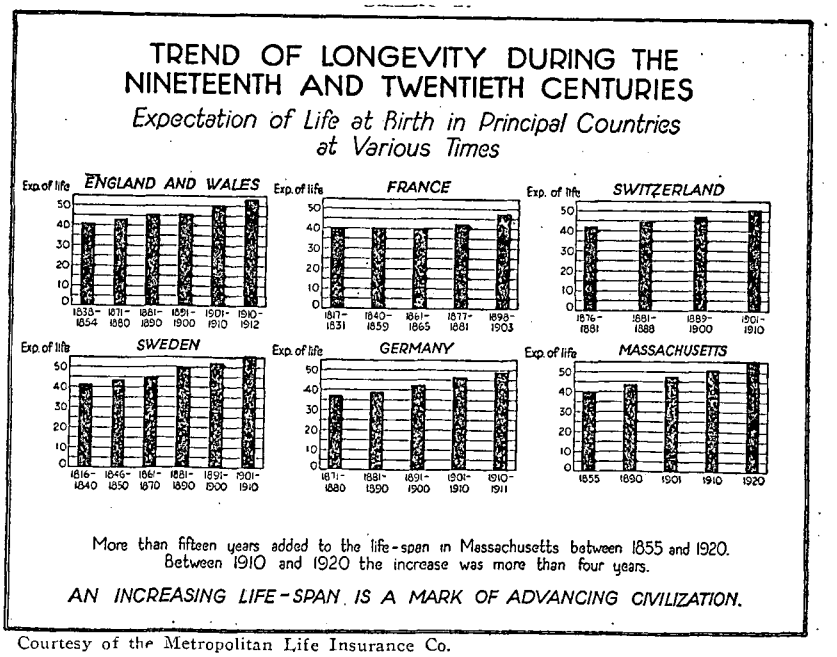
course, grow up to maturity without the damaged hearts and veins and kidneys which so frequently develop long after the original diseases and often are first noticed when they make havoc in middle life. As more people live to reach middle age and old age, the diseases of these periods, as has been pointed out frequently, will inevitably seem more frequent; we hear more of cancer, heart disease, mental disease and the like than in the good old days when the average life was forty years!

One member of the statistical family, however, has been hardly more than holding her own, and it was on this fact that the newspaper scareheads previously referred to, were based. It has ordinarily been an all but universal phenomenon in civilized countries that at every age the deathrate of women was considerably lower than that of men. In this country a reversal of that state of affairs began to be evident about 1918, and in 1920 records of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company show that the deathrate for insured women (which is probably a fair indication of general conditions) actually was higher than that of men. This increase is limited chiefly to the ages 20-34. It has been suggested that the increase in the number of young women employed in factories, especially during the period of the war, was responsible for producing an incidence of disease, especially of tuberculosis, more nearly approaching that of the industrialized male population than ever before had been evident. On the other hand the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company points out that this is the child-bearing period, and that the United States is notorious for its excess mortality among women from causes related to pregnancy and child-bearing. This explanation, which implies inadequate care during the prenatal period and confinement, may explain in part the lack of improvement in neo-natal mortality—deaths of babies under one month—which frequently result from conditions present at or before birth. At any rate the condition among young American women is an anomaly in an otherwise bright picture of public health which deserves the efforts at study now directed toward it.

The life span of Methuselah is a goal of the future, not a glory of the past. M. R.

Too Common Colds

ONCE again common colds have been incriminated as the chief cause of time lost from school through illness. A study of some thousands of children in Hagerstown, Maryland, conducted by the United States Public Health Service, shows that in the second half of the school year 1921-22 and all of the school year 1922-23 common colds, excluding sore throat, tonsillitis, bronchitis, influenza and other respiratory disorders, accounted for more than twice as many lost days as any other form of illness, and for nearly three times as many cases of illness as the highest competitor, headache and neuralgia. Fargo, North Dakota, which is busy demonstrating health, has adopted the expedient of excluding children with colds from the public schools in an effort to check the spread of such infections. While it has not


TREND OF LONGEVITY DURING THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES
Expectation of Life at Birth in Principal Countries at Various Times
Exp. of life
ENGLAND AND WALES
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
SWEDEN
GERMANY
MASSACHUSETTS
More than fifteen years added to the life-span in Massachusetts between 1855 and 1920. Between 1910 and 1920 the increase was more than four years.
AN INCREASING LIFE-SPAN IS A MARK OF ADVANCING CIVILIZATION.

Courtesy of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.

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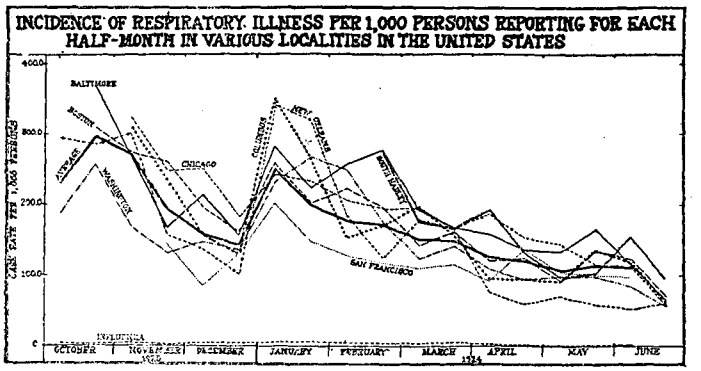

From U. S. P. H. Bulletin

THE SIMILAR COURSE OF COLDS IN EIGHT CITIES

yet been possible to demonstrate the result of the regulation statistically, Dr. B. K. Kilbourne, the City Health Officer, and Maud A. Brown, Director of Health Education in the schools, feel that it has been distinctly worth while in improving the general condition of the children.

First reports are just in from the extensive epidemic study of colds and other respiratory disorders which the United States Public Health Service is making, using college groups in various parts of the country, and the families of officers of the Army and Navy, the Public Health Service and the faculties of the selected colleges, as subjects for study. Most striking so far is the discovery of the remarkable seasonal parallelism of colds in widely separated parts of the country. Next comes more revelation of the frequency with which they cause illness even in young and presumably healthy groups. Only 10 per cent of a group of students in Boston had escaped without at least one illness between October 15, 1923 and March 31, 1924, and the average for the whole group was nearly two colds per person.

IN this study, as in an earlier one by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, it was found that there are two distinct peaks in the curve which shows illness due to respiratory disorders—one with the first sharp autumn weather, the other in January or February, when the more serious affections, such as pneumonia, reach their highest point, making the first quarter of the year the most hazardous season to the lives of both babies and adults. The seasonal cycle of the pneumonias can be demonstrated with surprising exactness. (See The Survey, January 15, 1923).

On April 1, 1924, Pittsburgh began an interesting attempt to control pneumonia, which caused more than a quarter of all deaths due to disease in that city in 1923, by making all forms of it reportable and quarantinable. This measure aims to limit the spread of pneumonia by direct contact, to educate the public as to the communicable nature of the disease, and obtain reliable statistics of its incidence in all forms for the sake of further study. In announcing the new regulation, which demands, among other things the placarding of the houses of patients with pneumonia, the Board of Health quotes the opinions of two leaders in the field of public health:

"If pneumonia were a new disease it would be regarded as 'contagious' and its spread would be guarded against by isolation."—Milton J. Rosenau, M.D.

"If every physician—and other attendant on the sick—exercised well known precautions and did not carry infection from one patient to another, or permit such infection to be carried, the mortality from pneumonia would be greatly reduced."—Victor C. Vaughan, M.D.

Pittsburgh's experience during this winter and spring will be worth watching.

Organizing for World Health

"WHY?" an American visitor in Geneva inquired recently, "Should the League of Nations concern itself with matters of public health and social welfare, when presumably its purpose was wholely and solely to prevent war?"

Two paragraphs from publications prepared by the Information Section of the League, best reply to this question, which doubtless is puzzling others besides those who have actually visited Geneva. The first paragraph gives a concrete definition of the League itself and states,

"The League of Nations is an association of States that have accepted certain international obligations with the object of preserving peace, and *have undertaken to cooperate in matters of international concern* by their signature of the Covenant of the League," (the italics are mine).

The second paragraph defines the work of the Health Organization in a nutshell.

Inter-governmental health work cannot encroach on the activities of national health administrations, nor can it embark on purely theoretical enterprises leading to no practical action. Within these fairly wide limits the object of the Health Organization is to advise the Council and Assembly of the League, in all international questions of public health, to establish closer relations between the health services of different countries, to act as a clearing house on public health questions and finally, to help bring about the agreement necessary for all international action in public health matters. *The whole purpose of this work is practical usefulness in the field of international relations.*

At present the Health Organization has three divisions—an Advisory Council, a Health Committee and a Health Section. The Committee of the Office International d'Hygeine Publique acts as the Advisory Council, dealing with matters submitted to it by the Health Committee and in turn initiates and transmits to the Health Committee questions that may be advanced by such a procedure.

The Health Committee, composed of sixteen members, among whom are representatives of the International Labor Office, the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau and the League of Red Cross Societies and two Americans, Surgeon General H. S. Cummings and Dr. Alice Hamilton of the Harvard University Medical School, acts as an advisory organ to the Council and the Assembly of the League, on all matters pertaining to health. Its worth is subject to the approval of these two bodies as that of the other technical organizations. The Health Committee is likewise responsible for the policy on technical questions of the Health Section. The latter is the executive organ of the Health Organization, forming a part of the Secretariat of the League. Its medical director is Dr. Ludwik Rajchman, a Polish physician and bacteriologist.

The activities of the Health Organization since its establishment in 1921 have been varied and remarkable in their extent. Practically its first step was to annex the already existing Epidemic Commission, which had been appointed by the League Council in May, 1920, to work with the Health Administrations of East Europe in their efforts to control the typhus and relapsing fever epidemics in that part of the continent. In their work they carried out such

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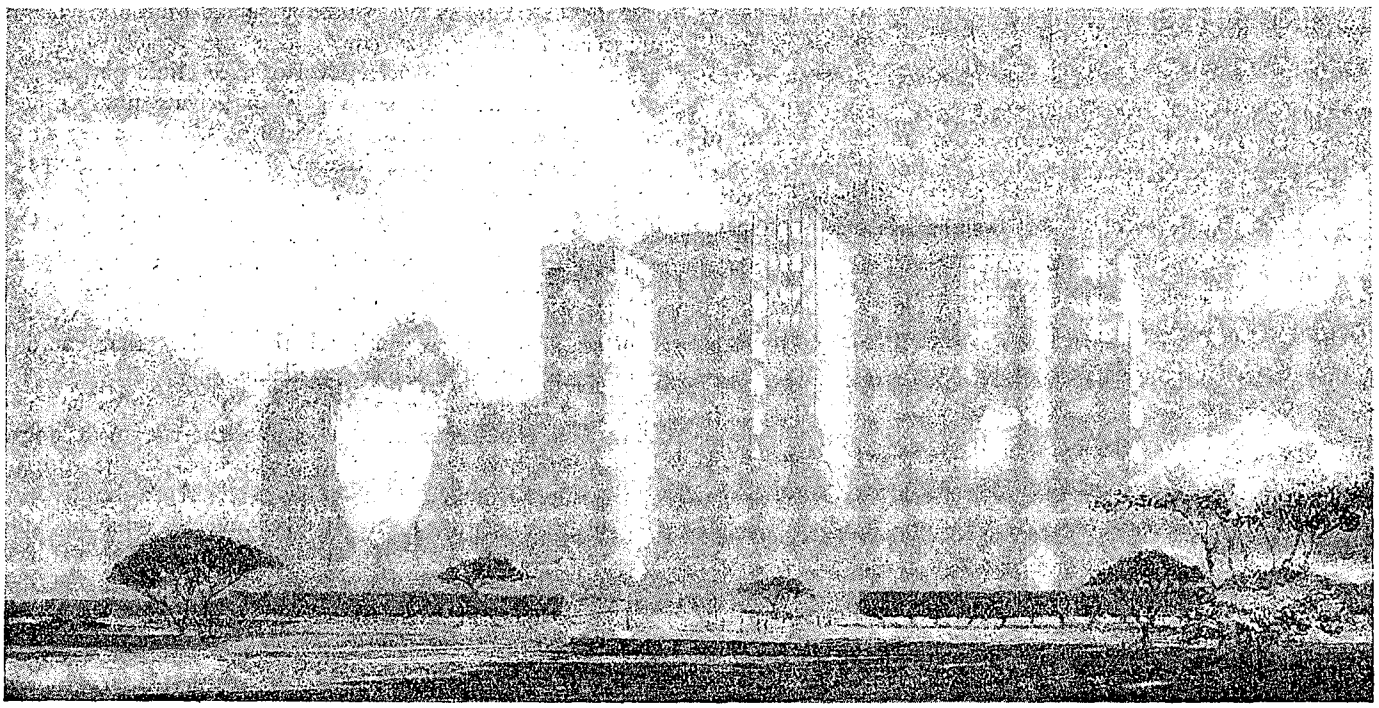

GROUP BUILDING FOR THE PRESBYTERIAN HOSPITAL AND THE COLUMBIA SCHOOL OF MEDICINE

Plans for this new building to be erected at 165th Street and Broadway, New York, are to combine the best features of more than 120 modern hospitals which have been studied during the past three years. They were evolved under the direction of a joint administrative board by James Gamble Rogers, architect of the Memorial Quadrangle at Yale. Since the project was commented upon in The Survey for December 1 it has been announced that a psychiatric center will be built by New York state as a part of this great medical center. The new unit will take the place of the present Psychiatric Institute, which has limited facilities for research in its present quarters on Ward's Island; funds are already available through the $50,000,000 bond issue voted last year by New York state for the improvement of the state hospitals. Great advantages are anticipated through the contact of psychiatric workers with general medicine. Through the outpatient departments of the medical center it will be possible to get in touch with persons suffering from the early forms of mental disease when there is the greatest chance of cure, but when the aid of a psychiatrist is seldom sought. The psychopathic hospital will have beds for from 150 to 200 patients under observation to be selected from all parts of the state because of the interest and importance of their cases in the study of methods of preventing and curing mental disease, and in training physicians to treat it. A heartening example, this, of the cooperation of the state with two great privately endowed institutions for the common welfare.

measures as the organization of quarantine stations, the equipment of hospitals, instituted measures for cleansing and disinfecting and supplied such necessities as food, clothing and motor transportation. Their efforts represented the first experiment in international sanitary cooperation on an extensive scale.

Following this phase of the activities of this Commission, which resulted in the establishment of a permanent sanitary defense along the entire western Russian frontier, an agreement was drawn up between the Commission and the Soviet authorities by which it was made possible for the members of the Commission to be officially recognized and be granted diplomatic privileges by that Government, facilitate close cooperation between the Commission and the Soviet Health authorities.

Following the war in Asia Minor, upon the request of the Greek Government, two members of the Epidemic Commission were sent to Greece. Working with the Greek health authorities, they organized a vaccination campaign among the refugees. About eighty Greek physicians, medical students and hygiene inspectors were recruited for this campaign and distributed among the refugee camps. In the neighborhood of 550,000 refugees were in consequence vaccinated against smallpox, cholera and enteric fever.

Another interesting service of the Health Organization is that of Intelligence covering a varied and rapidly broadening field. Much of this intensive development has been made possible by an agreement with the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, which has contributed $32,840 a year for five years toward its maintenance. The direction of this service has been carried on consecutively by two Americans, Edgar Sydenstricker, statisician for the United States Public Health Service who was followed by Dr. Otto R. Eichel, director of the Division of Vital Statistics of the New York State Department of Health. It issues reports on the epidemiological situation of these countries from time to time and publishes monthly an Epidemiological Intelligence Bulletin. The latest and one of the most important developments under this service is the plans being made to establish in Singapore, a Far Eastern Intelligence Bureau. This has also been made possible by a contribution from the International Health Board of an amount not to exceed $50,000 for the first year and $125,000 for a five year period.

Under this branch of the Health Organization comes also the collecting of information from the health administrations of the various nations on their methods of collecting and compiling vital statistics. A series of "interchanges" or group conferences, participated in by vital statisticians and epidemiologists are being held in connection with this phase of the service. Another series of conferences with medical statisticians have been conducted for a limited num-

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ber of officers of the health services of various governments, giving them an exceptional opportunity to study the application of statistical methods and practice at certain institutions and public record offices.

During 1923 five interchanges for medical health officers, who were commissioned by their government to study the public health problems and their solutions in other countries, were held. One of these interchanges was held in the United States and was composed of twenty-four medical officers representing eighteen countries.

Special studies in cancer, tropical diseases, malaria and epidemic diseases in the Near East are likewise being carried on. A special inquiry has been made into Far-Eastern ports, for the purpose of studying the different methods being enforced for sanitary, anti-epidemic and quarantine regulations, in an effort to prevent the spread of disease by sea-borne traffic. The mission engaged in making this inquiry was headed by Dr. F. Norman White, assistant director of the Health Section and formerly Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India. The findings of this commission will be particularly useful as a basis for a conference between the various powers for coordinating and tightening sanitary and epidemic measures in the Far East. In view of the fact that sea-borne diseases from the Far East have been one of the bitterest foes of sanitary authorities all over the world, this mission and its findings are looked upon as an especially valuable contribution of the Health Organization to the promotion of international health.

MARIE JACQUES EICHEL

Self-Support for Health

ALMOST unique as a neighborhood organization for selling cooperative service of preventive medicine to middle-class families, the Manhattan Health Society (described in The Survey for October 15, 1923: The Health Club) has been followed with interest and hope by those who believe that normally people should buy their own health services as they buy their own food and clothing. It opened in June, 1922, underwritten and guided by a Committee on Community Organization which represented the Maternity Center Association, working with the New York Diet Kitchen Association, and Henry Street Visiting Nurse Service and a number of individual health workers. For an annual fee of $6 a person, or $16 for a family, it provided supervision of pregnant women, assistance at confinement other than doctors' services, health supervision of babies and of children from two to six, and visiting nurse care for sick persons of all ages.

With 5,000 members the Manhattan Health Society would have been self-supporting, according to analyses of the cost of other nursing and clinical services. But in its two years it had written only 728 individual and family memberships. Moreover, on October 1, 1924, the subsidy provided by an anonymous donor to see the undertaking through its period of organization, came to an end. It looked as though the experiment might have to be concluded with the obituary of many intelligent efforts—"Too far in advance of the education of the public."

However, the actual likelihood that the society would close its doors stirred up a lively concern in its members which the mere announcement had failed to arouse. A mass meeting of members was called by some of those who had appreciated keenly the gap which the society filled for families above the financial level of free clinic patients, but still too limited in means to pay for private nursing or to call the doctor except for serious illness. Members agreed to turn over to a committee of themselves the funds on hand which might have been returned for unexpired memberships, thereby releasing the "Anonymous Donor" and the Committee on Community Organization from further financial responsibility. Officers and a board of directors were appointed from the membership group, and it was voted to keep the flag waving with all the services that could be carried on with the money available.

This present temporary organization is soon to be incorporated as the Cooperative Health Center of Washington Heights. The most extensively used parts of the full program—supervision of babies and pre-school children, including corrective physical exercises—have been retained. The basis of support is individual memberships at $10 a year, supplemented by returns from some special event organized by the members each month to raise a reserve fund to meet possible deficits, and also to gain publicity. November saw a Better Baby Contest, advertised by posters in the shops and moving picture theatres of the neighborhood, which carried the story and brought in new members. In December there is to be a theatre party. It is hoped that eventually the whole program of the Manhattan Health Society can be restored.

New York is a hard nut to crack in any new effort in community organization. The constantly shifting population of any of its neighborhoods, the infinite variations of race, class and traditions found in any small area make it especially difficult to arouse a community spirit. The excellence of the nursing organizations in the district which provided service free or at a nominal cost made it difficult for many people at both boundaries of the society's financial zone to understand that a health center could and should exist as a self-supporting venture, though there has been the fullest cooperation on the part of the nursing organizations. The committee which directed the demonstration feels that a considerable degree of popular education is necessary before a complete program can be made to carry itself. The demonstration, however, has attained its most important objective: it has aroused a responsible local determination to go on, which will be followed with keen interest by health and community workers. A detailed analysis of the experience of the Manhattan Health Society, compiled by Mrs. Olive B. Husk, who directed the greater part of the demonstration period, will be reported in a later issue of The Survey.

NEW JERSEY announces that the 226 communities now are at work in its Continuous Child Hygiene Program supervised by the State Department of Health. (See The Survey: February 15, 1924, The Continuous Child; also March 15, 1924.) The towns of Closter, Demarest, Cresskill, Norwood and Northvale, Bergen County, and the borough and township of Princeton have assumed full responsibility for the salaries and expenses of their teachers of child hygiene, while financial responsibility for sixty-three of the ninety nurses supervised by the state's Bureau of Child Hygiene has been assumed by the local communities at the conclusion of a successful trial of the child health program.

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EDUCATION

New Folkways

IN the seventeen years that have elapsed since the publication of Professor William Graham Sumner's Folkways; a Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores and Morals, the word "folkways" has become an accepted part of our language. None the less, the exceptional significance of the concept of folkways for the interpretation of our social experiences is not yet generally recognized. It throws a flood of light upon all our institutional usages, manners, customs and morals, and especially upon the customs and morals of education and the schools. It is probably not too much to say that apart from an understanding of the impact of our ancient and contemporary folkways upon the life of today, the processes of education and the position of the school cannot be understood. And such an understanding is not possible apart from some appreciation of the history of our folkways, both European and American.

All primitive groups are controlled by their ancient folkways—the ways of the ancestors, handed down from the immemorial past, unchanged, as they believe. Folkways vary from group to group, of course. It is useless to inquire as to the "origin" of the folkways of any group: they are the slow accumulation of the ages of group experiences, both accidental and intentional, under the varying circumstances of life. "Consciousness," however, had little more to do with developing them than it had to do with developing the capacity of our hearts to beat rhythmically. "Reason" had little share in making them; hence, they seem eminently reasonable to the untutored mind—that is, to the mind that has been primarily made by them. The experience of the group has given to them a sacred quality: the group has survived—it still exists. Hence, its ways have been "right." The stamp of divine approval is upon them. They have thus taken upon themselves something of the permanence of the hills; they have achieved the sacredness of the processes of nature, and are no more to be interfered with by "science, falsely so called," than is the circulation of the blood! In short, they *are*—and we are made by them in ways we little suspect; they *are*—and they remain, however much we may attempt, by taking thought, to change them!

The group and its folkways antedate the existence of the individual. Hence, all social change must be change within the folkways, must get itself accepted by and organized into the folkways and must, therefore, to that extent, mean the organization of *new folkways*. All "reformations" must be re-formations of the folkways. "Reforming" the individual while allowing him to continue within the unchanged folkways has never accomplished much. All revolutions are turnings over of the folkways—if they succeed, or, to the extent that they do succeed; and they must set up and establish new folkways if they are not to fail in the long run. In short, the folkways *are*—and change must always fight an offensive battle against them, offensive in more ways than one!

None the less, all folkways are, more or less continuously, subjected to processes of attrition. Every change in the environment of a group calls for some compensating change in the structure of its folkways. All children are dangerous to the folkways; all criminals and outlaws must be watched and segregated; all geniuses are to be regarded with extreme suspicion. Any "cross-fertilization" of the folkways of two or more groups, such as our great cities provide in the intermingling of immigrant groups, is bound to be continuously disintegrative of the old folkways of the groups concerned; and the "contagion" is not unlikely to spread. Hence, "aliens" are always a factor of danger in the nation. War, travel, books and periodicals, all means of communication, science and inventions: all these beat directly and, often, with terrific impact upon the structures of the old folkways. The automobile is an excellent illustration of the ways in which what seemed at first a fairly simple mechanical contrivance has become an instrument for the disruption of the folkways of ages. Of course, the most important invention, from this point of view, that the world has ever known, is the steam engine. The "industrial revolution" has been struggling with the folkways of all the historic past for a century and a half. In certain areas, that revolution has been almost completely successful. In many industrial cities, especially with certain industrial groups, all the older folkways are essentially gone, though nothing effectively significant has been developed to take their place: only disillusionment and sophistication have taken their place—in the negative sense of the word.

CONDITIONS in Europe for a century or two before the discovery of America had been tending to develop rebels against the Mediaeval folkways, which had bound church, state, industry and social organization into what seemed for a time to be a final, impregnable order of the world. The newly discovered continent offered an escape for such rebels as did not care to fight the battle out on the old soil. America was very largely colonized by individuals and groups that were in rebellion against the absolutisms (all folkways are always absolute) of the Mediaeval church, the Mediaeval state—or its later representative, as in England, the absolutistic national state—or against the harsh folkways of the aristocratic and feudal social and industrial order—rebels against some phase of the iron folkways of Europe.

That is to say, the American pioneer was in most cases a rebel—against something; hence, in the American wilderness, he felt himself "free." He was an "individual"—in a sense scarcely known before by any considerable number of men. If he was interested in religion, he felt himself free to set up a new religion "in accordance with the dictates of

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his own conscience." In industry, he did the thing that needed to be done in order to win for himself sustenance and shelter. In morality, he felt himself freed from many of the restrictions which had existed in Europe and which he had, more or less respected, formally, though not always in spirit. When he became interested in politics, at last, he felt himself justified in throwing over the old European orders and in setting up a "free and independent state" though even in this effort he felt it necessary to act with a "decent respect for the opinions of mankind"!

This conditional statement makes clear the outstanding fact about the American revolt and rebellion against the folkways of Europe. The "individual" discussed above was, after all, not a true individual, in the full sense of the word. He was never in revolt against the old folkways as a whole, but only against some specific aspect of the old ways. He was "individualistic." He never dreamed of standing alone against the world, in all things, but only in those few respects in which the old ways irked himself particularly. That is to say, only fragmentarily was he an "individual"; in most things he was quite as much a member of the folkway group as the next man. He might fight the old controls in religion, but help to run out of the country any one who criticized industry, politics or education. His neighbor might rebel against the old controls in politics and government, but accept whole-heartedly all the folkway attitudes in religion, philosophy and morality. That is to say, America has never believed in "individuality," but only in "individualism"—the right of the "individual" to set up his own private rebellion in his own little quarter of the old folkway world. The suggestion that anyone would ever think of being a rebel-in-general never entered the head of any pioneer or any "father of the constitution."

This American "individualism" early developed certain folkway aspects, both positive and negative. It has always been "right" in America to rebel against the feudal organization of industry in favor of the "American system"—that a man should be free to work where he pleased and should own and possess whatever he had earned or won. It has always been "right"—since the "Revolution"—to resist taxation without representation and to call one's self a sovereign citizen—"the equal of kings." But it has always been "wrong" to rebel against religion, or "the family," or group "morality"—as "wrong" in America, as it ever was in Europe.

It is plain, therefore, that we Americans have been developing our own folkways for some three centuries. In these folkways we have followed, in general, the European model. We never escaped from it! We have made only such changes from that model as the conditions of our history have tended to select out of all the variations offered by the "freedom" of the frontier. We became gravely concerned about our folkways in war time: we felt them menaced by various disintegrating forces. We became conscious of them and self-conscious about them. We tried, and are still trying, to organize them more stably and permanently into some form of "100 per cent Americanism"; and certain of our institutions and groups have taken upon themselves to "protect" them from any criticism or change.

None the less and in spite of all these facts, new folkways are emerging, tentatively, here and there, under the impact of inescapable conditions and often in the most unlikely places. In industry, managers have established the right to make whatever changes they please in mechanical processes without consulting the protectors of the folkways and without regard to the old ways of doing things. Nobody now thinks the heavens will fall if the electric light supercedes the old tallow candle. Likewise, here and there may be found an industrial manager who begins to admit that the inventiveness that has transformed his mechanical processes will eventually be quite as unquestionably employed in dealing with all the processes of his plant, including the problems of human relationships in industry.

The late election showed that there are some millions of men and women in America who have quite fully escaped, not only from the mechanisms of party folkways, but also from those lingering, gnawing fears (the fears that gnawed at the liver of Prometheus) which the upholders of the folkways are such adepts at reinstating.

In religion, though the defenders of the folkways have been stirred to unusual activity by the developments of recent years, and have announced that they are going to combine all their forces for the purpose of throwing all nonconformists out of the fold, yet criticism and non-conformity never seemed to be more definitely here to stay. In morality, leading writers and prominent periodicals carry on discussions of the folkway ethic in lines that would not have been dreamed of twenty years ago.

In the intellectual life, science is the great dissolver of the folkway mind; but science is but little effective, as yet, outside the range of mechanical processes; and where it is effective it is often so unscientific in its dealings with the opposition as to solidify that opposition and make its own task many times more difficult.

TWO problems must be faced. First, still, as of old, the critics of the folkways in these separate areas do not know each other, do not understand each other, are often suspicious of one another. Because a man is a rebel against the old religious folkways is no reason, whatever, for supposing that he will vote a progressive ticket. Such a line of conduct may never have remotely suggested itself to him. But how can we hope for new folkways unless all those who are critics of the old folkways in any particular shall undertake to become supporters of all intelligent criticism, in whatever particular? (To be sure, it seems perfectly proper that just as England has retained her monarchy, as a sort of anchor to windward, every rebel should maintain one center of complete conservatism in his personality!)

And, finally, how shall we establish the new folkways of the intelligent life save as each incipient new way gets into our education, and as our education gets over into the new ways? The "new schools" are headed in this direction—but even the new school people do not always like to admit the logic of their position. Probably forces much more fundamental than academic efforts of any variety must be depended upon to bring in the new folkways. Industry seems to be, whether consciously or unconsciously, moving in this direction. Economic factors are compelling men to think who have formerly scorned thinking as an "academic folly." But education and the schools can help to bring the new folkways in.

Above everything else, education and the schools can help to prepare the rising generation for the sort of life they will be called upon to lead when those new folkways shall have arrived.

JOSEPH K. HART

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The Status of Workers' Education

WE need in workers' education to face the actual facts and real needs. There are too many exaggerated claims and abstract promises. The primary fact about workers' education in America is that it is still in its infancy. Overlooking this fact, we are apt to expect of it—and to claim for it—a size and strength beyond that of the slow-growing infant stage. It requires the patient nurture of a human infant, not to be paper-fed on published statistics, "doctored" to please patrons and placate critics. We ought to be our own severest critics, not only because it's honest but because it leads to light and progress. Yet, a lot of things spoken and written about workers' education substitute high-sounding claims that are not being fulfilled for serious attention to the actual facts and the real needs of the situation.

What are some of these facts and needs?

The movement as a whole is in that early and all important stage that demands earnest, thorough and painstaking attention. Until the labor movement gives it that attention, it cannot develop into healthy growth. Though it is the child of organized labor, its financial support comes almost entirely from sources outside the labor movement. Our very self-respect should lead us to give more adequate support to that which we claim the honor of having created and the right to control. This fact is being faced by the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, which is steadily extending both the organization and the support of its educational work.

The second outstanding fact is the obvious but widely overlooked truth that it is unfair, as well as foolish, to expect the best results from typewritten letters and printed literature. Most labor locals have barely a quorum present at regular meetings. That quorum listens to the reading of various communications. One of these communications may be from this office. What happens to it? Less than one hundred replies were received to two letters written to fifteen hundred locals in the state last winter.

What is needed? Personal work. There are about fifteen hundred locals affiliated with the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor. It would take over ten years for one man to pay one visit to each local, staying long enough to arouse interest and help organize classes and secure teachers. In many instances more than one visit is necessary. Let me illustrate. In two places visited last winter, classes were organized, a committee was selected and teachers were secured. Within a month both classes had disbanded, because of dissatisfaction with teacher or text book, and the arising of difficulties that the local committee was unable to cope with. Until there comes a larger degree of self-confidence, as well as self-support and knowledge of what workers' education means, it is absolutely necessary to have active and responsible representatives on the job all the time.

The third fact we must face is the indifference to workers' education on the part of many trade union officials. We are not trying to assign the reasons or assess the blame for this. It is a fact that cannot be denied, that creates a tremendous handicap, and that must be faced.

Only a minority of trade unionists are interested in workers' education, and of that minority many have not the time or the energy to devote to it. This is true not only of workers' education. It applies to the people of America generally. Our churches, benevolent orders and practically all other organizations are maintained by the interest and efforts of the few—often the very few. The failure of interest will not be greatly affected by printed matter and circular letters from a central office. It can only be changed by direct, personal efforts; which again emphasizes the need of active agents in the field.

The task of workers' education extends beyond its study classes, correspondence courses and other direct forms of service to the workers and the labor movement. In Pennsylvania, for instance, the present superintendent of the State Department of Public Instruction has responded favorably to the contention that the department should not follow a ruling of the former superintendent, enjoining teachers from becoming members of the American Federation of Teachers. Local school baords can still refuse to renew the contract of a teacher who joins the A. F. of T. The remedy for this is in the election of members of school boards. In most communities the ballots of the workers can correct this form of arbitrary injustice and discrimination.

The vocational training system in many communities compels high school boys to submit to exploitation. In a certain city these boys are apprenticed to employers for 5400 hours during their last three years of high school, on terms dictated entirely by the employer, which include a wage scale ranging from seven to fifteen cents an hour.

A development of far-reaching value is the organization of summer labor chautauquas in the smaller towns. Such a chautauqua, on a small scale, met with marked success in August in the town of Six Mile Run, district No. 2 of the United Mine Workers.

The one big need is that the representatives of workers' education should be regularly on the job in the various sections of the country, working in properly organized districts.

The one big problem is that so many amongst the rank and file of organized labor are indifferent, that the few who are interested are necessarily over-worked. This largest need and this largest problem must be met and solved, not only in behalf of workers' education, but for the sake of the labor movement, itself.

RICHARD W. HOGUE

The Higher Education

THE high tide of the year for college freshmen has been recently at the full. Here in the Middle West, our large colleges and universities have received, but not assimilated, the annual intake, and the fraternities and sororities have looked them over, individually and collectively. We have been through the time of the annual fall pledging and of consequent hysteric joy on the part of those who have secured the colors for which they have longed, secretly, but not with the shameful openness of social ambition, to wear; time of disillusionment to those unsophisticates who never knew, till they became college freshmen, the prime importance in the educational world of being among the socially elect. Now the little Smith girl from Centerville realizes that the gown she wore at the Gamma Theta house was

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her damnation, because the Gamma Thetas sensed it was last year's made over; now the Jones boy, also from Centerville, knows how much more fortunate he is in having a banker for a father than in having a brilliant mind of his own and a father outside the elect.

Over at the Psi Alpha Psi house, a noble stone pile in the Italian villa fashion with its two great rounded windows frowning down over the whole campus, the console phonograph wailed out "I Want to be Happy" for nearly a week, while a continuous succession of freshman boys, flatteringly called men by the Psi Alphas, were entertained at smokers and tried by a jury of their peers, the members of the active chapter. Each night those elected to be "bid" were taken to the chapter room on the third floor to hear a recital of the glories which only those in the inner circle of Psi Alpha Psi may know, and the few, if any, who failed to desire those glories enough to pin on the colors at once were put through the sweat box lest they escape to rival organizations. Those not of the elect were put to bed, three deep and none too tenderly, in the fraternity guest rooms, and hurried politely away next morning to find living quarters among the barbarians. With the next day, the glory of the newly made pledgings faded: they donned overalls and waxed floors worn bare by the week's entertaining: they wiped dishes and peeled potatoes when the kitchen help, disgruntled by a week of overwork, failed; they shined the shoes and pressed the trousers of the fraternity brethren, all cheerfully enough because of the benefit of final membership in Psi Alpha Psi.

Across the campus, among the sorority houses, the stress of rush week was even more tense. The Gamma Thetas transformed their attic into a Japanese tea-garden, where rushees wearing their winter suits and gowns because these were the most modish in their new wardrobes, smiled and perspired and felt their hearts pounding as they responded in their best manners to Gamma Theta hospitality. One little freshman prayed that they might not have heard that her mother once worked in a store; another wept behind her smile because her marcel wave was straightening in the fierce attic heat; still another was hoping desperately that, lacking beauty or wealth, she might be chosen on her meagre claim of having made the highest grades in her class in high school. Meantime, downstairs, other Gamma Thetas were transforming the first floor into a Spanish ball-room for the evening's festivities, cutting minute chicken sandwiches in two to provide for additional guests, or ironing a few napkins needed for dinner because of a shortage existing in the linen closet. At four the next morning, when the Spanish ball-room effect had been removed, they met to give calm and deliberate consideration to the question as to which of their many recent guests they should pledge. A few fainted; one fell sound asleep in the midst of the voting; and another suffered nervous collapse and went home for a semester's rest; but the great cause of education goes on.

Farther down College Avenue, not overlooking any part of the campus, is the Cooperative Boarding House. Here was no confusion of entertaining freshmen, no flutter over sorority bids or hysteria over failure to achieve election; here was no joyous telegraphing to anxious parents that the goal of a pledge pin had been achieved; here instead began the weekly routine of Monday-hash, Tuesday-pot roast, Wednesday-ribs, with no variation to the end of the school year. But a ripple of excitement occurred when the Johnson girl from Maple Grove, after filling three sorority dates and failing unaccountably to achieve a pledge pin, came bravely seeking a chance to share a room with some girl in Coop House. The plain girl from her home town took her into her small room with the consoling remark, "Anyhow, you can study a lot more here, and maybe make Phi Beta Kappa."

"But I never want to make it," the Johnson girl wailed, and fell upon the hard bed in a burst of tears.

The plain girl wrote a letter to her mother, explaining that enrollment cost ten dollars more than they had counted on, and that she must buy a new gymnasium suit. "There is a great deal to learn here," she concluded, "and I shall do my best to improve my opportunity." Then she went downstairs to set the dining table and pour the water, for she is working for half her expenses at Coop House. Upstairs her new room-mate, after unpacking her ten dresses, her rose silk table lamp and her hand-painted tea-set, examined her enrollment card to see what courses she had been entered for. She sighed at the prospect of the opening of classes on the following day; then brightened as she pondered which dress she should wear.

ATHA LEAH BASS

MRS. MARIETTA JOHNSON'S well known School of Education at Fairhope, Ala., has recently been incorporated under the laws of the State of New York, for reasons set forth in the articles of incorporation. The "particular objects" are worth extracting: "1. To support and develop the School of Organic Education at Fairhope, Alabama. 2. To assist in introducing the principles of the Fairhope idea in the general education process. The Fairhope idea maintains (a) that education and normal growth are identical; that the end is inherent in the process, that is, the end in education is immediate growth—life itself; (b) that the school program, to be educational must tend to create and preserve sincerity, fearlessness, and unselfconsciousness of spirit, intelligent and sympathetic mental activity, and to develop a sound, accomplished, beautiful body; (c) that grades, marks, examinations or promotions are not necessary for growth, but often prevent growth —hence are uneducational; (d) that the institution must not ask "What do you know?" but "What do you need" and the nature of the growing child indicates the answer; (e) that in the measure that the school program meets the needs of the unfolding organism at every stage of its development, it is educational; (f) that society owes the young guidance, control, instruction, association with others, and inspiration throughout childhood and youth."

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY is undergoing a Self-Survey at the hands of committees of its own faculties. The details of the program are worked out along the more or less conventional lines, especially in respect to the item "Persons to whom studies when made are to be communicated." After providing that the president of the university, members of the board of trustees, the various deans and faculty members shall all be provided with information after their several kinds, the program concludes with two items, as follow: "To the students, such matters as the president considers would lead to increased loyalty, better scholarship, or stronger cooperation in attaining the objectives of the university. To the public, such matters as the president considers to be for the welfare of the university."

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SOCIAL PRACTICE

Should Social Workers Tell?

This has been written from an address delivered extemporaneously by Dr. Rubinow at a meeting of the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers, in reply to the question put to him by the Association: "What is the obligation of the social worker to report violations of the law to the proper officials?" The Philadelphia group felt that his answer deserved wide reading and urged its publication and discussion: Survey readers now have the floor.

IN the daily contacts of social worker and client, through the opportunity of entering the client's home and observing his personal life in a most intimate way, social workers may have frequent opportunities to observe infractions of law. Shall or shall we not take the initiative in conveying this information to the proper authorities?

The argument for an active effort towards law enforcement is obvious. One of the essential principles of our legal system dictates that the duty of law enforcement is not limited to officers of the law. It is a primary duty of every citizen, which may be delegated to specially appointed persons as a matter of expediency. It is our legal duty in witnessing any infraction of the law to stop it. One obvious way of stopping it is to report it to the proper authorities.

There is, however, another principle, which we may designate as "the principle of priviliged communication." This principle, recognized in application to several professions, sometimes by law, sometimes by public morality, sometimes by both, limits the obligation of the private citizen to report certain violations of laws.

The code of legal ethics does not permit the lawyer to suggest to his client ways and means of avoiding his legal liability for criminal acts. It does not, however, require him to report any confession of a crime made by his client. That is a privileged communication, and if an attorney-at-law were to be placed on a witness stand, he could plead that as excuse for refusing to testify. The physician is not required, and in many states he is not allowed, to give out information obtained from his client in his profesional capacity, though such information in dealing with certain contagious diseases may have a bearing upon law violation. The ethics of those churches in which confession is obtained and even of many other churches where the minister may be in possession of information, willingly given by violators of the law, does not require him and in fact does not allow him to utilize that information, no matter how damaging it may be, by reporting it to the officers of the law. It is definitely announced in every census by the United States Government that in collecting the statistics, neither the census nor its numerous agents will be allowed to disclose any information for purposes of tax collection, even if such information may indicate violation of some law. It has been reported that many very prosperous bootleggers have paid very substantial amounts under the income tax, but that the government representatives who audited their books were not allowed to report infractions of the prohibition law to the other branch of the same government department. Here are two opposite legal or moral rules of conduct, or perhaps to put it more accurately, one general rule of conduct and one exception to that rule which is applicable to certain occupations and certain situations.

If the problem before us were simply that as to which of these two rules should apply, if the question as to the duty of the social worker to report violations were to be answered by a simple "yes" or "no," then I will confess my own choice in the matter would be a negative answer. The relationship of the social worker to his client is at least as confidential as that of the physician, lawyer or minister. Information as to law violations does not come to us accidentally or in the natural course of our daily life, but because the client himself volunteers it or because in our effort to be of help to him we are forced to make a searching inquiry into all the aspects of his life. If the principle that privileged communications are confidential is morally correct, it surely must apply to the social worker. The fact that as yet this principle has not found recognition in statutory law does not modify its moral character.

Even more important is the pragmatic point of view to the effect of our course of action upon our relation not so much to the individual client concerned, but to the whole social stratum in which we work. Social work can't be successfully done unless complete confidence exists between the worker and his client. It is futile to expect that such confidence can be gained if the client is to suspect that we enter his home or enter the innermost secrets of his heart, not only as social workers but also as policemen in disguise, if he is to fear that we are asking for information not only to help him but also to bring him before the court of justice. If then, I repeat, the only possible answers were either "yes" or "no," my answer would have to be "no" as the only condition under which we could continue to do our work.

But, is the situation so simple as all that? No one should know better than the social worker, that complicated problems of life can seldom be answered by a simple "yes" or no." We must analyze the problem more intensively, not only from the point of view of law or abstract morality, but also from a pragmatic point of view, in which interests of the community and the interests of the individual must be carefully weighed and balanced against each other.

In the very beginning we must have a right to question

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the holiness of the principle of law enforcement. I recognize that in the political and social atmosphere of the last six or seven years that requires a certain amount of moral courage, but unless we have it the question might better not have been put. There are, after all, at least two conceptions of crime, as there must be two conceptions of law. One is the purely legalistic conception of statutory law and statutory crime; the other a moral or social conception, which would limit the definition of crime to such conduct as at any particular time goes contrary to moral standards, contrary to the instinctive conscience of the community.

The distinction does not necessarily arise out of a criminal tendency or disrespect for law. Take the case of a ball game on Sunday. Our natural instinctive reaction would not be uniform, depending to a large extent upon our religious convictions. Most of us, I imagine, would not see there a moral obligation to report, though some of us might. Evidently the legal conviction that every law-abiding citizen is potentially or should be a policeman, has very definite moral limitations.

Not only do we feel no moral obligation towards law enforcement in these minor infractions of a statutory, though not moral, law, but we have a very definite instinctive feeling of revulsion against such conduct under many circumstances. Remember the code of honor during our school years, and the feeling of moral revulsion against a squealer. The social purpose of this code of honor is not limited to years of childhood. Try a little introspection to determine your instinctive reaction to the professional stool pigeon or private detective, or even to some extent of the regular police detective. And yet law enforcement is their professional duty. Legally the profession of a stool pigeon is a respectable and estimable one. He might be considered a pillar of society. He might even qualify as a deacon of a church. But you and I would probably not want to enter it or prepare our children for it. We might even keep our skirts clean of too close a contact with it. All this in illustration of the rather obvious truth that the concepts of morality and law do not necessarily in all cases coincide.

Under democratic conditions there is nothing mysterious in the law which would necessarily command reverence. The law is a rule of action. It is a collective rule of individual conduct. It is always a rule of the past to regulate the future. Presumably, it is a rule of the majority, though under the best legislative machinery, even that is not always guaranteed. Frequently it is a rule of a dead majority. The minority of the past may be the majority of the present or the future. The law may express a definite ethical ideal. It may be neutral in its content. And finally it may, and sometimes does, go contrary to the ethical or social standards of a very substantial part of the population.

The sensible citizen obeys the law so far as possible. He may disobey it out of sheer carelessness, but there may be some other reason. In either case he must be ready to stand the consequences of his action. If for some reason or other the majority rule of action goes contrary to his ethical convictions, he may disobey the law knowingly and stand the consequences willingly.

Surely such a pragmatic attitude to law must influence our viewpoint as to the duty of the private citizen to participate in law enforcement through voluntary reporting of all observed violations. If the principle of law enforcement is not to go contrary to ethical standards, to what you might term instinctive conscience, surely you cannot extend it to laws which we consider unethical, and need not extend to all neutral laws, or to laws which, through the natural process of wholesale non-compliance, are on the way to becoming obsolete.

THE observed law violation may or may not have an immoral content, but there may be also another classification. It may be a violation of the past, the present or the future. After all, actual observation of an illegal action in its process is not as frequent in a social worker's experience as information obtained as to past transgressions. We may discover evidences of committed larceny, burglary or even murder. Our legal duty may be quite clear. Is the ethical duty equally clear?

It is not at all uncommon to read in the newspapers of old criminals discovered and brought to justice. Two brothers were indicted recently for a murder committed some ten or fifteen years ago. The situation has been somewhat popularized by those acute interpreters of modern life, the scenario writers. Frequently the criminals are brought to justice after they have become and have remained respectable citizens. In the very nature of things there can be no unanimity either in the public as to the advantage, or among the social workers as to the ethical values of the situation. My own reaction in the situation described in the newspapers or movies is not one of indignation against the old criminal, but one of sorrow that he has been brought to "justice." I do not believe that I stand alone in this attitude. It represents results of a valuation of the prevailing system of crime and punishment.

If the basis of punishment is the achievement of social vengeance or deterrence of others, we may regretfully approve the belated accomplishment of justice. But modern criminology and penology is working for an entirely different ideal: the readjustment, the ethical and social reconstruction of the criminal individual. If there be ample evidence that such ethical readjustment has taken place should accidental discovery of the past crime lead to new penologic efforts? Is there anything else to be achieved by bringing the delinquent to justice?

Even if we are not altogether certain that such readjustment has been completely successful, once we do accept this modern ideal of penology must not our enthusiasm for retributive justice be tempered considerably by what we know from experience of the social results of conventional criminal justice? Even the private citizen may well ask himself the question while running to the police station. Surely the social worker trained in criminology and penology has no right to close his eyes to it. What is our opinion as to the social results of a term of imprisonment, even in most reformatory institutions? Whatever our legal duty may be, the social worker must necessarily consider not only the legal but the human and social aspects of the situation. He must temper his tendency towards law enforcement with ethics and social science.

SO much for the general principle of law enforcement. I have already indicated the extent to which this doctrine has gained a foothold in several professions, and the social considerations which evidently outweighed the purely

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legal ones in establishing this doctrine. As far as I know, nowhere as yet has this doctrine been clearly established in case of social workers or social agencies. I am informed that even our records are not protected from inspection by courts or offices of the law for purposes of prosecution. Obviously this is only one aspect of the general failure to establish the professional status of the social worker and the legal privileges which must follow from such professional status. Through the establishment of the professional schools, through the efforts of the agencies in exacting better preparation for our workers, this professional status will gradually be established.

However, once this professional recognition is gained, and with it the principle of privileged communication and freedom from the obligation of law enforcement, and the reporting of law violations, will it alone fully satisfy both our ethical and moral standards? Suppose the priest hears confessions of repeated crimes which designate the individual as decidedly dangerous, or suppose even further, that he hears evidence of a contemplated crime? Similar situations arise in the relation of doctor to patient, lawyer to client. Surely, in such cases, there is a social duty to help in the prevention of crime which ethically, at least, should over-ride the legal immunity of a privileged communication. The principle of these communications also has its ethical limitations; in its application we must distinguish between the various forms of law violation, whether they are in the present, past or future, whether they involve laws of ethical content or neutral laws, whether we find evidences of ethical regeneration. Willy-nilly, doctor, lawyer and priest must be case workers.

TO sum up: as the origin of law is human rather than divine it does not necessarily command absolute blind reverence. Law enforcement is a legal obligation. It may and it may not be an ethical obligation. Written law must, therefore, be subject to moral review, otherwise no changes in law would be possible. The obligation to cooperate in law enforcement may be subject to ethical evaluation of the law violation. The social content of the violation, the social results of the efforts to bring violators to justice must also be considered. In other words, the first formulation of the problem as it is stated in the query, "What is the obligation of the social worker to report to proper officials violations of law," must be viewed in the light of the formulation, "The duties of the professional person toward the interest of his client and toward the interests of his community when these seem to be in conflict."

Whether the conflict exists or not must always be a matter of very careful consideration. The mere violation of a statutory act does not necessarily prove it. After all, statutory enactments necessarily represent the past, most of them also necessarily represent the rule of thumb. In the very nature of things they cannot individualize human situations. A formal conflict does not necessarily mean a real conflict, and the fact that the conflict had existed, had expressed itself in an act in the past does not necessarily mean the existence of a conflict in the present. Nor can sworn officers of the law be depended upon to possess the true insight into the nature of social conflicts, their cure, elimination or prevention. And if it be their sworn duty to protect society against a spirit of revenge rising in the maladjusted individual, it may be often our moral duty to protect an individual against a society's spirit of revenge, not because we would protect the individual in his anti-social attitude, but because of our conviction that in the final analysis society's spirit of revenge may be anti-social.

In other words, the social worker must remain a case worker and individualize in these as in many other situations. He may and he may not feel the necessity of breaking the principle of a privileged communication and act as a voluntary officer of the law.

Does that place too big a responsibility upon the case worker? Isn't there a serious danger of mistaken judgment? To be sure there is, as there is the same danger in every day's work in dealing with complicated human problems. As his or her judgment may fail, so may the ethical basis, his conscience, if you will, be sometimes mistaken. There is no mechanical rule for achieving efficiency in case work any more than in other human relations.

But it does presuppose that the social worker has not only a technical but also a broader training in social science, that he or she has a social philosophy which strives forward and is not bound to the traditions of the past. It means that a sociological training of the social worker becomes a matter of very great importance. It also means that back of the individual social worker must stand the agency with a well-defined social philosophy and policy, and back of them a unified profession which takes due cognizance of the development of psychology, ethics and social science.

I. M. RUBINOW, M.D.

A County's Homeless Children

In the new report of the Children's Bureau on Foster Home Care, Dr. Ellen C. Potter, State Secretary of Welfare for Pennsylvania, refers to a Pennsylvania county in which an investment of $900 and travelling expenses for a trained children's worker reduced the population of a boarding farm for dependent children from 50 to 20 in four months, which amounted to an annual saving to the county of $3,000 for board and $700 for school tuition, not to mention clothing, doctors' bills, and overhead, or the rights of childhood which cannot be measured in money. Pressed for details, Dr. Potter referred The Survey to Lillian A. Quinn, who supervised the work and now is vocational director for the American Association of Social Workers.

PROBABLY with the motive of giving a child a good home, Bradford County, Pennsylvania, started many years ago to board with a farmer's wife the children for whom the county Directors of the Poor were asked to care. This way of providing for homeless children must have seemed satisfactory to those early officials, (three men, with other interests and other duties, elected to give part time to the care of the needy throughout the county of 50,000) for it became an established custom to send children to this out-of-the-way farm, even now distant from a state road.

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Children came, and children stayed, all kinds, all ages, boys and girls alike.

When the chairman of the county Mothers Assistance Trustees took a member of the staff of the Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society to see these children one December day, they counted thirty, ranging from a year old baby to fifteen-year-olds, and later they learned there were fifty children living in this ordinary-sized farm house, an ample porch of which fortunately had been requisitioned for sleeping room. There were two other so-called boarding homes, caring each for much smaller groups of children, but groups also too large either to be mothered by one woman (who was cook and laundress as well) or to keep the semblance of family home life.

Small wonder that county officials and private citizens alike were heartily sick of this careless antiquated way of keeping the children most in need of protection, a practise wholly at variance with the wide awake and progressive spirit of other work there. The native county of Henry P. Davison and of Jane Delano had felt a particular pride apparently in furthering public health enterprise. A rural district that can boast of sixteen men and women professionally engaged in some form of public health work sets a standard few rural sections can match.

Without question, the work of this group was one of the forces that threw into relief the lack of plan and inadequacy of care for dependent children. The dental hygienist could hope for no follow-up from the foster mother of fifty! But where could she find the need of it more? Not that clean teeth were the greatest need of these children; not that physical health was alone important—but here was a service making for health, available for school children in the county, and ineffective for half a hundred children needing more than any others all the compensations the county could offer. Except for the families of ex-service men, and for those eligible under the Pennsylvania law for help from the Mothers Assistance Fund, there was no organized, ready way to help a family or an individual through a crisis, or to prevent one, or to get on the road to recovery after things had gone wrong, except in so far as material relief by itself could help.

It is so easy to find a situation wholly unsatisfactory, and so hard, when you are close to it, to see a way out. By law, the county Directors of the Poor are responsible for the care of dependent children. These directors inherited both a situation and a practise that had apparently become a fixture. To send more children to this so-called home was impossible—but what to do with them?

The Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania had been caring for such children in family homes for more than forty years, and the situation, difficult as it was, did not look impossible to them. The society was organized for just such a purpose. They offered their plan to Bradford: a social worker, trained and experienced in the art of discovering what children need care in foster homes, what kind of home a child needs, and what homes will give that care. The Children's Aid even offered to go halves on the salary of the social worker for a year, on condition an appointment satisfactory to them be made. The directors looked at the plan askance. Find family homes for fifty children? A city worker (the headquarters of the Children's Aid Society in Philadelphia, gave all its staff and work, at a distance, a city flavor) accomplish this in a rural county? Only the shadow of a chance of success. But the plan had some virtue, it offered immediate action, and it was so easy to change if it didn't work. Finally, they decided to take a sporting chance on the "lady from Philadelphia," and when she came, they gave her the most wholehearted and intelligent support.

On July 5, the eventful day of her arrival, there were fifty-four boys and girls at this farm home. By December 1 there were seventeen boys and no girls. In the whole county there were less than thirty dependent children, and some of these, of course, had come into care since July 5. How had this reduction been accomplished? The social worker saw the job in two parts—to weed out from those already in care the children who could return home or who needed other than foster home care, and to get thoroughly acquainted with these who were to remain and "fix them up"; and next, to make sure that when requests to take a child came, that foster home care was necessary, and was the best answer to the problem. Often it was not, of course, and other remedies were found. The harder part was planning for the fifty-four already in care, and here the resources of the county were used to the utmost.

A local physician volunteered to give a physical examination to all the children at the farm. The nearest Baby Clinic revised its program and decided that for a time it could be of greatest service if it examined children of various ages. The State Department of Welfare sent a psychologist to the county to examine these children. And constantly during all this activity, the social worker was trying to learn what kind of homes these children had come from, what family and friends each might have to count on, and what manner of child each one was. Two, though beyond childhood, chronologically speaking, proved to be permanently in it mentally—and they went to the county home to await vacancies in a state institution for the feeble-minded, while two others went directly to such institutions. Two needed long hospital care; still another went to a state tuberculosis sanatorium. Others, happily in greater numbers, went back to some stable remnant of their own families, or into permanent foster homes through the Children's Aid Society. Perhaps one of the happiest of these reunions was that of a widower and his three small sons. He had gone over to a nearby city in New York where his kind of work was more plentiful, and was now able to pay the full board of his children. A local children's worker found a home for them near the father's boarding place.

It sounds so like easy magic to tell results—first fifty-four dependent children, then a social worker, then less than thirty dependent children—and to touch so lightly on the hard work and resourcefulness that brought these results. Bradford County stretches over many miles, through which distance north and south has been cut by good roads; east and west the road program is only partly completed and these wagon roads over high hills were no small obstacle to the county Ford in rough weather. The farm was in the south of the county; the only two hospitals in the county were in the extreme north. After the special visit of a psychologist from the Department of Welfare, such assistance was available only once a month from a clinic which met first in one then another pat of the county. There was no family welfare society in the entire county. To find foster homes, whether boarding or free, in a district that has not been used to the idea of placing children in family homes is no mean task. To find a few families in very accessible places who will hold themselves in readi-

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ness to take children in an emergency is still harder. Emergencies, of course, decrease almost to the vanishing point when there is help and advice ready at hand constantly, and used before crises come; but in the first months of the work, situations having at least the outward look of emergencies came thick and fast.

In spite of these difficulties and limited resources a very remarkable beginning was made in the care of the county's dependent children through the skilled service of a trained and experienced worker. That homes could be found, that children responded when they were happily settled in these homes was again proved by demonstration here, as it had been in many places before. That a county, if it takes thought, need not have so many dependent children, was also demonstrated. One wants to tell the dollars and cents in the county's pocket because of this. There was great money saving through the work—but who can figure the full amount when he thinks of even one of the fifty-four? An operation was performed on a small girl who had never walked, and within a year she was walking as well as any child. Even that is less hard to measure than many of the adjustments that were worked out.

Next to the story of each child, the most interesting aspect of this effort was the number and kind of agencies that contributed to its progress. The skill, devotion, capacity for hard work and ability to win people over on the part of the social worker on which the whole success hinged, would not have had an opportunity to be tried, had there not been state and local organized forces to open the way and aid in carrying on the work. Locally, an official group, Directors of the Poor, gave both funds and authority to the plan, aided by interested private citizens, the county children's committee. Ready for local application, so to speak, were the resources of the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, a state-wide child caring agency with the experience of years to draw on, prepared not only to help start local work and furnish trained personnel, but to participate continuously in order that one county's children might have the advantages of another county's home, when that is desireable and that such special facilities as the society had developed might be used for rural counties as well as city centers. Through such interplay of local and state-wide forces and public and private agencies, results that would otherwise have come very slowly were speedily secured.

LILLIAN A. QUINN

The Fly-By-Fords

A DEEP murmur of approval seems to follow the putting of the questions asked by Ross Sanderson in Gasoline Gypsies in the December Survey Graphic. Apparently that plight of the agencies which he describes is all too true, especially in those western states which have sown colorful publicity as to their climate, only to reap dusty knights of the Ford. But when one presses for the answer to Mr. Sanderson's questions, there is, in general, silence, followed by a few tentative suggestions. Disregarding one jocular newspaper suggestion that Henry Ford be asked to rid the country of the pests he has let loose upon it, and an irate letter to the Kansas City Star demanding a state police force for the highways to head off Ford tramps who "are of an inferior type and will commit almost any sort of law violation," the effective answer seems yet to be evolved by concerted agreement among the social agencies.

Most drastic and detailed of the solutions turned up in correspondence with interested groups is that adopted by the Social Service Bureau of Denver, whose general secretary, Anna G. Williams, writes that she feels that "helping the auto tramp to get out of your city is a violation of the transportation agreement and at least one other family society in the West, the Social Welfare Society of Lincoln, Nebraska, agrees."

"In Denver," Mrs. Williams reports, "the Salvation Army and the Volunteers of America are both members of the Community Chest, and at the suggestion of the Social Service Bureau all auto cases have been referred to the Bureau for the past eighteen months. Consequently it is not as easy to 'get by' in Denver as in some cities where cooperation is less close.

"This year Halsted Ritter, president of the Denver Community Chest and ex-president of the Social Service Bureau, who is thoroughly familiar with the detailed workings of this office, suggested early in January, 1924, that we draw up a paper in which we ask the automobile folks to turn over to this Bureau their car or such equity or claim which they may have in the particular car in which they are traveling. Needless to say we have not been over-stocked with cars but we have saved some money and the automobile traveler is aware of Denver's position in this matter. It seems to the writer the only possible cure is to take possession of the car, be it clear or mortgaged. Of course, our claim would be second to any legitimate prior lien.

"We understand that there is one town in Colorado of perhaps from ten to fifteen thousand inhabitants that takes possession of the car and keeps the family in quarters used by the jail and the man is put on the road to work until such time as he has earned enough to pay for the care of the family and himself and to have a sum of money in his pocket. After all, grown folks do pretty much as they please, and children as they are taught, so our great concern must be for the children and such laws in regard to schooling should be in force as will enable the school authorities in any state in the Union to force the parents to put the children in school or punish the parents accordingly.

"The solution is a long way ahead and necessarily the process is slow. Education of the individual giver in both large and small cities has got to be undertaken sooner or later. Our experience with the ordinary automobile tramp or hobo, which is the more appropriate name, is that he will do anything but give up his car, and work. It seems to me there should be no hesitancy at all in taking the children away from a tramp family.

"It has also been suggested that the American Automobile Association take up the discussion with its member organizations in every state and then the member organizations take it up with individual members, showing them the harm as well as danger of 'giving a lift' or a 'hitch' along the highway."

"The fact that a family is involved makes it a much greater puzzle and a much more serious problem than that of the homeless man," writes Justin L. Hills, agent of the Associated Charities of Colorado Springs, Colorado, "and the latter, so far as I have been able to learn, has really never been satisfactorily solved.

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"The car of the auto tramp, generally a broken-down Ford, usually has all the appearances of a crate of chickens, such as one sees at a railroad station, heads craning from every opening. They are always filled to over-flowing. In Colorado Springs these families are handled by the Associated Charities. Food and shelter is given but we have consistently refused to give gas and oil in order that they may continue their wanderings. However this has not been in the least effective for in some way and from some source they always succeed in getting the necessary supplies and are usually out of town within twenty-four hours.

"Their reasons for continuing their journey are many but generally they have a job or are going to relatives. The jobs are always very vague and the relatives usually in an inaccessible place. It is impossible to get an adequate record of them and they have disappeared into the great unknown long before the references they have given can be heard from.

"I wish I could offer a solution for this constantly increasing problem but I cannot. The public will aid them in the matter of gas and oil and often criticizes the charity organization society for not doing likewise. 'It is cheaper to send them on than to keep them here.' Should we attempt to inform the public and if so, how should we go about it?"

Kansas City also knows the fly-by-Fords. Walter Whitson, superintendent of the Kansas City Provident Association, writes: "Leaving the office at five-thirty one evening carrying a copy of Mr. Sanderson's article on the auto tramp which had just come in the afternoon's mail, I was greeted by a man and woman who wished to talk with the superintendent.

"They had been in Kansas City twenty-four hours. The evening before, upon their arrival, they and their children had gone to a mission meeting and some one whom they had met there invited part of the family to sleep on the floor in his home. The rest had slept in their car, which was not in running condition, a usual situation when the auto tramp reaches the city. We offered them care at the two homes which we have here, one for stranded women and children and the other for men. However, they could not think of being separated, even for over night. They would much prefer to sleep in the car. Before the close of the brief interview one reason for such independence was developed—they had received $4.00 that day from the American Legion, of which the man was a member.

"This is an instance of the way the social service machinery usually breaks down in planning for the auto tramps. As long as they have their car they will stick to it, even though it means camping out in the park in severe weather at the danger of suffering on the part of the children. Other homeless people and transients are much more willing to accept shelter and care in the form in which it is provided by the community.

"Even though the children are suffering from neglect no county is anxious to make the children its wards, assuming responsibility for their care, which may result in considerable expense.

"When it comes to the question of transportation, policies fail. Even though a legitimate destination can be established, there is no way of being assured that a family traveling by auto would arrive at this particular destination if provided with funds for gasoline and food until they reached there. The social agency, therefore, does not wish to do this. The family inevitably refuses to part with a broken down car and travel by rail. They have learned from experience that a little solicitation either of gas at a filling station or of money will give them sufficient resources to get a few miles out of the city, where they will find generous farmers to help them continue on their way.

"The social agencies have done little toward solving the problem. If the auto tramp is not to increase and multiply a study of methods used and the formation of policies will have to be worked out and agreed upon just as the transportation code for other transients has been accepted by social agencies."

Apparently the "tin-Lizzie-tourists" are not always confirmed tramps. Georgianna Carden, who has studied the problem of educating the children of these birds of passage for the California Department of Education, declares: "We are having each year more of the good middle-class from the Middle Western states—the farmer type of family which drifts out to the coast, and may range from California to British Columbia, trying out the various types of crops and climates, and trying to decide where to settle, letting the children stay out of school and suffer many hardships while they make up their minds where to locate." But while the middle-westerners go to the coast, other fleets are cruising through their own home states. The executive officer of the Minnesota state department of health declares that half a million automobile tourists visited his state last year and points out the sanitary hazards and problems that have always been raised by human migrations, the more so by a kind of chronic migration. But sanitary procedure is simple and standardized in comparison to the social dilemmas which are a by-product of this new type of vagabondage. The columns of The Survey are open to further discussion and suggestions.

A NEW DIVISION has been created in the Massachusetts Department of Mental Disease to be known as the Division for Classification of Prisoners. It has been established to carry out the provisions of an act passed by the 1924 session of the legislature requiring a psychiatric examination by an appointee of the Commissioner of Mental Diseases of every prisoner serving sentence of thirty days or more, except for non-payment of fine, in the jails and houses of correction of the state.

TO THE ANCIENT QUERY as to who's got the button (usually to be answered by an accusing gesture toward the laundry) the state institutions of Illinois can reply proudly that there need be few such things. With the realization that fashion had spelled economy in the prescription of narrow-skirted slipover clothing, the managing officers of the Illinois institutions together with the heads of sewing rooms came together some months ago for a conference on suggested changes in garments. In some of the institutions, such as the Illinois Soldiers' Orphans' Home, and the State Training School for Girls at Geneva, the girls design and make their own distinctive dresses. For the benefit of state hospitals and others, various types of garments were chosen as standards from models submitted by the institutions themselves, with all due regard for economy of materials and time, both in the making and the mending. That the button question had an important bearing was attested by the finding that the State of Illinois expended for this item in the year ending September 30, 1923, the sum of $3,125.15, not counting the upkeep of sewing rooms.

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The Progress of Personnel Management

THOSE out of touch with industrial activity have largely assumed that "all that interest in labor management and industrial relations" was considerably deflated after the war, and that the interest of typical companies in personnel problems has dwindled as the labor supply has increased. All this is precisely contrary to fact, as it is the aim of this article to show. Not only are more companies carrying on more activities of the sort characterized as "personnel," but they are taking these activities more as a matter of course and pursuing them with an intelligence heretofore unknown.

The critics of the movement for increased emphasis upon personnel activities in management have made much of the fact that the motives with which this work was pursued were not disinterested. The tone has been: "It is all done in order to make more money." While it is impossible to subject the study of motives to quantitative measure, I believe that the importance of the personnel movement has been almost as much in its concern with motives of managers as in its contributions to technique and procedure. For personnel executives have in numerous companies been able to illustrate increasingly the truth that motives and aims change with experience—indeed, change only as experience in a particular situation demonstrates the reality and grip of new motives. And while much is done in personnel work because it is clearly shown "to pay," much also is done only because managers and employes have worked into a practical partnership where other human satisfactions than profits are recognized as desirable products of industry.

In more and more plants profits instead of being the be-all and end-all of enterprise are rather looked upon only as the tangible criterion of economic solvency and utility—a preliminary condition to be satisfied in the course of pursuing more varied, ultimate and immediate ends in which all members of the enterprise may share.

But what have such generalizations to do with the progress of personnel work? Simply this: That it has been those managers and owners who have been exposed to its influences in stores and factories where good personnel work is being done, who have been in the vanguard of executives consciously willing to admit the operation of broader motives in management, broader standards in the light of which personnel procedure and industrial achievement are to be measured. And it is this growing group of managers who are responsible for the experiments which clearly show a new trend in managerial technique.

Personnel management today is thus infinitely more than "employment management," which is concerned only with successful selection and placement. Probably between 3,000 and 4,000 plants employ individuals who specialize in selection. Probably 800 or 900 plants today have medical departments with full or part-time nurses and doctors. Safety engineers are accepted functionaries in over 1,000 plants. Training directors function in several hundreds of companies. Although these figures are estimates they are indications of an activity which is a real part of the personnel movement.

But personnel management is being pursued in a significant way in all those companies where some member of the responsible executive organization is explicitly charged with correlating, directing and initiating all activities believed to be affected with a personnel interest. Whatever is being done to assure that all members of the enterprise are applying their energies and intelligences to the purposes in hand to the best advantage—is *per se* personnel work.

And today in addition to such accepted activities as selection and training, more plants than ever are trying novel experiments which look in a new direction. For it is now recognized that workers and managers will work together with the maximum effectiveness only if they are all committed to purposes which all can honestly accept as their own. Hence companies are working with conscious desire to discover methods which will create identity of interest where divergence of interests existed before. The creative emphasis is uppermost; the desire to integrate and harmonize the aims of workers, managers and owners is in the ascendant. And with what result? With the result that experiments which may be grouped into four general types are now going forward. These experiments appear to offer a clue to the type of development which will be recognized as a practical next step for modifying the harshest conflicts of interest which the capitalist regime at present provokes.

A WORD as to each of these four types of experiments will serve to indicate the progress that personnel work has made in the last few years; for all of these activities are post-war developments, at least in their present flourishing and contagious form.

1. The introduction of a plan of classification of work, standardization of pay rates, measuring of production standards, payment of standard day rates with incentive payments for amounts produced over the standard.
2. Some form of guaranteed employment or guaranteed compensation in the event of enforced idleness.
3. Some form of supplementary income dependent upon the profits of the corporation taking the form either of stock purchase or profit sharing.
4. The elaboration of shop committees.

The first of these experiments is addressed to the present conflict between employers and employes over the amount of work to be given in relation to the amount of pay received. Thus far in the history of capitalism there has been typically an anomalous condition of contractual relations about pay with no supplementary understanding as to the amount of work to be done in return for that pay. Piece work methods were devised to correct this, but in their simple form have certain conspicuous weaknesses. The installation of production standards, based on scientific study

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and supervision, under the joint control of managers and shop committees, offers a practical method of making it to the interest of both managers and men to have the men work hard while they are working.

The tendency toward a method of pay which involves these principles amounts almost to a definite "movement" in the industrial world.

The emphasis both on stabilized employment and on unemployment compensation has been marked in recent years both because managers see the business advantages and economics of continuous production; also the demoralizing and uneconomic effects of idleness are recognized on all sides. The movement for unemployment compensation now extends to one or another branch of the garment industry in five or six centers, and to the workers of six or eight individual corporations. Today a total of probably over 500,000 workers is eligible for some form of unemployment compensation, and some hundreds of thousands more are deriving the benefits which accrue from stabilized employment due to the planning of employers to insure continuous employment for forty to fifty weeks in the year.

Approximately two hundred companies are now selling stock to their employes on various bases, and there are nearly one hundred companies which have some form of profit sharing plan. And 75 per cent of both of these plans have been installed since the war. Stock purchase plans and profits-sharing plans are legally in quite opposite categories, but they are practically identical in their recognition of the fact that companies owe an obligation to their employes which is not satisfied by the weekly wage. Indeed, it seems to me that this is their greatest significance. They indicate that companies are recognizing a right of their employes to share in some way in the contingent profits of the business as a whole. Numerous pitfalls are to be found, particularly in stock purchase plans. But where these plans are initiated conservatively in companies which are conservatively financed, the benefits seem on the whole to have outweighed the disadvantages. And both of these devices are conspicuous examples of experimentation looking to securing, up to a point at least, an identity of interest in the profits made by the company.

Immediately after the war studies indicated that there were approximately two hundred shop committees in operation. Today conservative estimates place this number at over seven hundred. A significant fact is that the number of companies which having once adopted a shop committee have now revoked such plans, is practically negligible. Rather is it true that in a substantial minority of the plans the amount of power allowed to employes has year by year increased. And in this minority it is noteworthy that equal power in the consideration of wage rates is the conspicuous feature. Yet in respect to this device, the important practical result is perhaps less the material gains which employes have secured and more the growth of the idea that joint representative deliberation with manual employes on vital matters in a corporation is of practical advantage to all concerned, and a fruitful method of educating all involved to the difficulties and responsibilities of corporate conduct.

It will be clear also that in the midst of so much experimentation, the danger of not acquainting all interested with the results of these efforts will be great. Hence not only research bodies but a clearing house organization which will record, publish and advise on all going experiments, should be of special value. Such a body, The Personnel Research Federation, has existed for a number of years and it is now being revitalized under new direction. The task of such a body in the midst of the current volume of activity is a vital one and its opportunity impressive. It will join with the already aggressive American Management Association and the Taylor Society in educating executives as to the significant developments in this whole field.

Where large corporations and small, where those that are progressive and those that are conservative, are embarking on experiments of one or more of the above four types, it certainly cannot be said that personnel work in its fundamental sense is on the decline. Clearly it was never more dynamic than at this hour.

ORDWAY TEAD

The Employment Office

The Russell Sage Foundation has recently completed and published the result of an investigation of employment agencies. In the last number of Survey Midmonthly Mr. Bruère commented on some underlying principles developed by this study. Here Mr. Barnes, pioneer in the administration of public employment offices, discusses its technical findings from the point of view of the man on the job.

"AIN'T nature grand!" may have been said by the girl who was taken up on a high mountain, but I want to make the same remark about evolution. Some twenty years ago certain people with social instincts commenced to advocate the finding of jobs through some public agency for those out of work. Then later, whenever we had a financial depression, the subject of establishing public employment offices was brought up because the general public then believed and even yet believes that in some vague way the establishing of public employment bureaus creates jobs, not realizing that the function of employment agencies, both in good times and bad, is the rapid and efficient bringing together of the job and the worker.

In 1913 President Wilson appointed the United States Industrial Relations Commission, better known as the Frank Walsh Commission. The purpose of this commission was to discover the cause of labor unrest, and, among other things, it attempted to ascertain whether or not it was advisable to organize a United States Employment Service. I was appointed to investigate the public employment bureaus then established in eleven states, and I spent a number of months inquiring into the methods and policies of the offices throughout the country. With few exceptions, I found the state systems were reservoirs for political hangers-on.

In 1914 the legislature of the state of New York passed a public employment office law, the bill having the backing of the City Club of New York. This was the first public employment office law requiring civil service examination for every appointee, from the state director down. In the latter part of 1914 I was appointed from the civil service list as state director and established employment offices in six of the largest cities in the state. Using the knowledge already obtained from other states, I made these offices serve not only as places for bringing the worker and the job to-

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gether, but also as clinics for the study of proper methods for running such offices.

At first it was thought that these offices scattered throughout the state could be of help in directing the transfer of workers from one section to another. But it was soon ascertained that there was no large movement of workers from one industrial center to another within the state of New York. It was, however, found that a large number of workers in the cities could be directed to jobs on the farms. The offices worked in cooperation with the farm bureaus of the state and met with considerable success. A few years later while working with the United States Employment Service I discovered that the movement of workers was not necessarily from one to another industrial center within a state, but that it often entirely disregarded state lines, so that clearance became a matter best handled by the federal government.

We Wondered How to Do it

In the four years of my directorship, we all learned many things. But we still in a general way remained in woeful ignorance of the best and most efficient manner in which public employment offices should be run. The workers in the different offices would listen to the assertion that every human being wanted to accomplish something and that there was no greater satisfaction than that of doing a job effectively; that therefore when they placed any kind of applicant in a position in which he could do efficient work they were doing a greater thing for that man than the minister who "saved his soul." But while enthusiasm for what he was doing could be aroused in the employment office worker, there yet remained to be discovered the best and most effective technique of placing applicants. Even if we had had the time, it was not possible for the superintendents in the various offices to stand at the shoulder of the nearly 100 interviewers and pass on to them the little knowledge which we in our work of superintending had gained. So night and day we uttered a silent prayer that someone with the ability and time would make a study of all the employment offices then existing, and set down in a book the fundamentals of public employment office work and the best methods of doing that work, so that a copy might be given to everyone of the office workers. I passed out of employment office work before this prayer was answered. But now I find that the mills of the gods have been grinding and evolution has been at work. The Russell Sage Foundation has produced the very book for which we all ardently longed.

"Ain't evolution grand!"

This Tells How

The Russell Sage Foundation has just issued Public Employment Offices, by Shelby M. Harrison and his associates. This study gives a history of the public employment office movement in this country, stresses the need for such offices, reveals in detail how they have functioned up to the present time and what may be hoped for in the way of establishing definite centers of employment information for the use of employers and workers.

The problems of organization in both state and local employment offices are shown. The connections which have existed and which still exist between local, state and federal agencies and recommendations for future cooperation are described at length. There is much information regarding the attitude of employers, workers and labor organizations toward a system of employment exchanges as well as toward the way in which public employment offices have operated. Reference is also made to special groups of applicants and the relation of public employment offices to all classes of work. The study clearly brings out the struggles of these offices due to lack of interest on the part of even those most directly concerned, the blight of politics, the reluctance of legislatures to give appropriations and the vague public conception that such offices are only for the use of the very lowest class of workers.

The mass of information which has been collected makes several propositions very evident.

Public employment offices should be organized with the state as the unit, but they should be federal-state-local offices.

The city should have a direct financial interest in the local offices and such control as might be exercised by a local advisory council which would see that the offices were impartially conducted.

The federal government should aid in establishing uniform records, policies, procedures and methods, attend to interstate clearance and collect national employment statistics. Unless it established uniform methods of reporting employment statistics, the information on that subject would be of little value; and the necessity for reliable statistics regarding employment is nowhere better demonstrated than in the wild guesses made during financial depressions as to the number of unemployed. It may be said in passing that it has often been found that the federal connection raises the standing of local employment offices.

Both national and local advisory councils representing employers and employes are desirable for arousing public interest and in securing impartiality in the work, but the manner in which these councils are to be selected and the methods under which they shall function are yet to be determined.

Public employment offices can only function if they have the confidence of and are used by employers and workers. The belief held by a great many employers regarding the partisan attitude of the United States Department of Labor precludes the idea of the successful establishment of a federal-state-local system under that Department. And therefore, this study recommends that the system be administered by a board made up of the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Agriculture.

Owing to the limited field covered by the present number of public employment offices, Mr. Harrison and his associates admit the necessity for the various other kinds of employment agencies—the commercial or fee-charging agencies which are so often accused of exploitation, the philanthropic agencies, and the agencies maintained by fraternal and other organizations. There is no doubt of their present value if properly regulated and it would be inadvisable to attempt by law to eliminate them. But just as the public school has gradually encroached upon and practically supplanted the private school, so the public employment office should prove itself so efficient and so able to serve the interests of both employer and employes that eventually it will replace the private agency, except in the case of the most highly specialized occupations.

There is hardly a question of technique that arises in a public employment office but has been analyzed out of the records for the third section of the investigation. Here are gathered the results of wide experience on such vital subjects as the organization of the offices, what sort of data should be obtained from the applicants and what from the employers, the methods of interviewing and referring ap-

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plicants and verifying the results of such referrals, the personnel of the offices, supervision, reports and statistics, local and long distance clearing, publicity, selection of premises, layout of offices, etc. It is because Mr. Harrison and his associates have built their report and recommendations out of the records of experience that their work is bound to have a positive effect upon the growth of the public employment office idea and upon the quality of the public service.

It is worth noting that events which occurred while this study was in course of preparation clearly show the impossibility of establishing unemployment insurance, either state or industrial, without the aid of employment offices. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America lately adopted unemployment insurance in the clothing industry in two of the largest clothing centers of the country. It was found absolutely necessary to create employment offices before the plan could successfully function. This is suggestive of a use for public employment offices which has as yet been little thought of in this country.

CHARLES B. BARNES

Cumulative Cooperation

THE cooperative movement in this country is registering two distinct kinds of progress—both of them essentially American. In no European country do cooperators have to struggle to achieve the kind of progress toward which it is necessary to work here. These gains were recorded at the fourth national congress of the Cooperative League, held last month in New York.

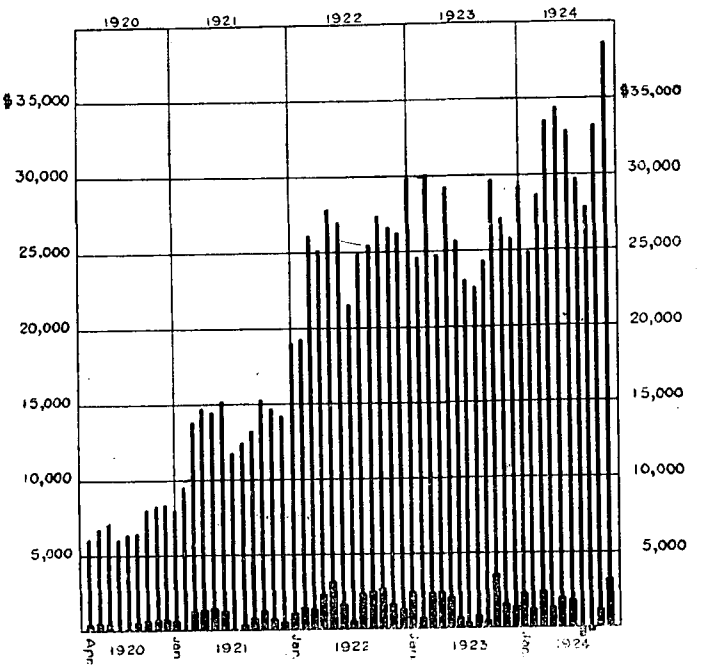
The first achievement of importance was this: the United States is now freed of "fake cooperatives." The underbrush of false and fraudulent "co-ops" that has prevented real cooperation from taking root, or had choked its healthy growth, has now entirely been cleared away. They have either been stopped by the courts, have perished from exposure, or have gone bankrupt. The American people have paid dearly for their luxurious crop of fakirs. It has cost them about $50,000,000 to learn the difference between cooperation for service and "cooperation" for the private profit of promoters. They have purchased quantities of worthless stock. They have lost their money—and their credulity. Now they are ready to dig in deep and plant a sound cooperative movement.

The legal committee of The Cooperative League reports that since the last cooperative congress, six organizations masquerading under the guise of cooperation have been completely put of of business. While agents of these organizations were peddling across the country their fake shares and their fake promises, in the name of cooperation, progress of the real thing was hampered. Now no fakes stand in the way. This is a distinct gain.

"And the other kind of progress?" you ask.

In the United States we are confident of ourselves. We go about things lightheartedly. We blunder cheerfully. We try over again and finally find out the right way. In Europe, cooperation is standardized. Experimentation is past. But American cooperators have finally found the right way. From Puget Sound to Buzzards Bay, the delegates at the congress agreed on the essentials. No time was wasted on arguments on *how* to start and run cooperatives; no disputes arose on technique; the men and women delegates were so sure of themselves—and so sure of each other (more important!) that they got down to business on how their organizations could work together. This was the second distinct gain.

Eight groups of cooperative organizations formed a federation to buy together. They believe that commodity buying



CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE SERVICES, INC., NEW YORK

Chart showing growth by months of the four cafeterias and the laundry operated. The black columns represent total income, and the heavily shaded portions at the bottom represent the part of the income that has remained as net or "surplus earnings." The deficits of three summer months and one winter month appear below the base line

is the first step toward the formation of the much needed national cooperative wholesale. For instance, all of them use quantities of flour, sugar and other staples. They plan now to order them in carload lots.

The federation is composed of the following organizations: The Central Exchange of Superior, Wis., a local wholesale with associated stores, doing an annual business of $700,000; the Washington Grange Cooperative Warehouse Company with 47 member stores, doing an annual business of $500,000; the Central States Cooperative Wholesale of East St. Louis, which is a federation of societies in Illinois; the United Cooperative Societies of Massachusetts with seven strong stores in Fitchburg, Maynard, Norwood, Worcester, Quincy and Gardner doing an annual business of $1,000,000; the Massachusetts Bakeries, a federation of Jewish bakeries in New Bedford, Lynn, Brockton, Lawrence, Springfield and Worcester, doing an annual business of $268,000. In greater New York, there are three large cooperative societies each doing a business of $350,000 a year. One is the Finnish Cooperative Trading Association, another is the Cooperative Bakery of Brownsville and East New York and the third is "Our Cafeteria" (four restaurants and a laundry which have been incorporated under the name of Consumers' Cooperative Services). These eight organizations understand each other's needs. They have agreed to pool their experiences. They have definite plans for joint activities.

There remain very definite questions for cooperatives to study. Some of them were debated at the congress. Why,

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for example, do some cooperators believe that cooperative housing is the best entering wedge for consumers' cooperation in the United States?

Doctrinaires believe that cooperation in the United States must follow the course of the English Rochdale weavers. They began by opening a little grocery store, three nights a week. That was in 1844. Now cooperation has grown in England until it does a distributive business of over one billion dollars a year.

Very good for England: but in America we don't need more grocery stores, and we do need more homes—free from speculative profit. In Brooklyn there are at least twelve real cooperative apartments, housing around 250 families. These are financed and erected by the tenant-members themselves. Cooperators pay $35 for five room apartments. In the same neighborhood similar apartments, rented from landlords, cost the hapless tenants $65. You don't need to persuade people that this kind of cooperation is good. Living in these apartments every day is argument enough. Then again, when people once invest their savings in as permanent a thing as brick and stone, they stick. They don't drift off bargain hunting. But cooperative store members often lose the early ardor and also their loyalty. The competing grocery store, across the way, offers too many inducements. Among our country's drifting population, cooperation will succeed best, some think, along housing lines. It takes a permanent hold on its members.

And besides, when cooperators unite under one roof in big apartments, or in a garden suburb, they soon begin to work together along other cooperative lines. In the Bedford-Barrow apartments in New York, the members are cooperating along so many side lines that every tenant is included. Plans have been made for playgrounds, for joint purchase of coal, and for log-wood for fire-places; for one milk company to serve all at a reduction of price; for one ice-man, one newspaper boy, etc., all at a saving. Cases of fruit, canned goods, staples, a small buying club—these are all entering wedges for consumers' cooperation on a large scale in the future.

Can cooperative milk distribution always succeed as well as it does in Minneapolis? The Franklin Cooperative Creamery is doing more than half of the milk business of that hustling Minnesota city; $3,000,000 worth of the purest, richest milk that Minneapolis has ever had is being distributed annually to the members of this consumer's society.

A few figures will tell better than anything else the steady growth of this cooperative enterprise. It started in 1919 with a strike of milk-drivers. For over a year they studied cooperation and finally educated themselves and some consumers to a belief in cooperation. They opened a distributing milk business in 1921. This is the way it has grown:

	No. of Wagons	No. of Employes	No. of Bottles Distributed	Total Sales
July, 1921	46	120	968,495	$86,849.10
July, 1922	82	178	1,570,540	$137,006.40
July, 1923.....	146	381	3,234,959	$286,095.04
July, 1924	175	410	?	?

And here are the figures which show the improvement in the quality of the milk:

	1921	1922	1st 7 mos., 1923
Average Bacteria	31,719 per c.c.	16,166 per c.c.	19,206 per c.c.
Butterfat Test.....	3.71	3.79	3.76

Below is the contrast in costs and prices of milk between Minneapolis, Chicago and New York. In Minneapolis the consumers pay less for their milk and the farmers get more for their product.

	Producer Receives per 100 Lbs.	Public Pays per Quart
Minneapolis	$2.90	12 cents
Chicago, Ill.	$2.67	14 cents
New York	$2.78	15 cents

What are the factors of success for a cooperative coal yard in a small city?

Why have cooperative restaurants succeeded better in New York than cooperative grocery stores? Is it due to management or demand?

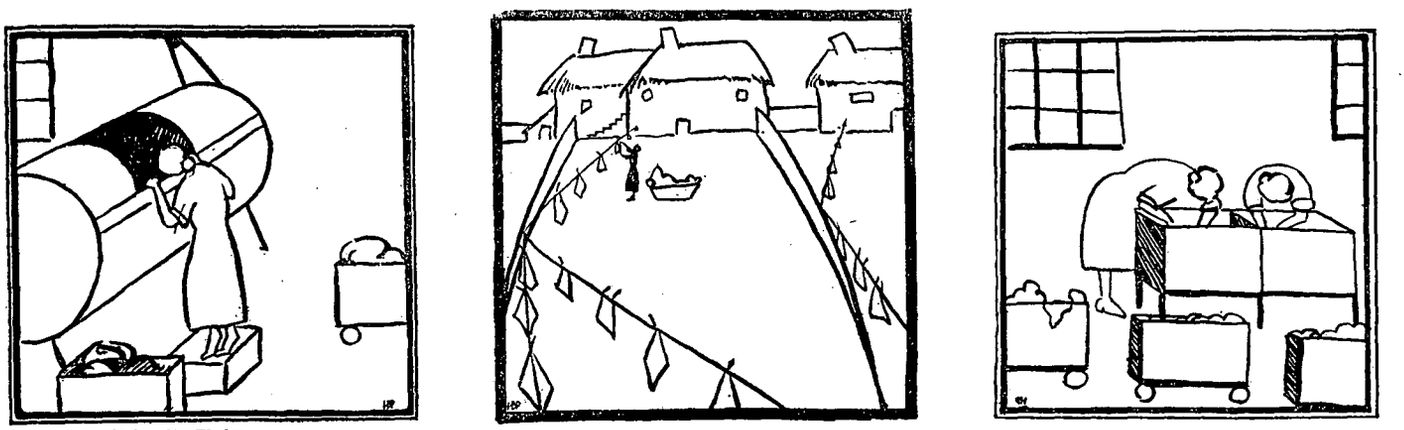
Most of the people who are familiar with Our Cafeteria in New York will tell you that its growth has been due to expert management. The management itself will tell you that it is because there is a demand for the service it renders. I think it is both. Its growth, noted below, is especially interesting because it has hammered away on spreading the first principles of cooperation as much as it has on serving good portions of delicious food at fair prices. Its commercial success has never turned its head. It confronts you with figures of growth and prosperity—and then you believe it can be done. Even in the greatest commercial city in the world, cooperation can succeed.

Bakeries have been run largely by Jewish cooperators. What are the conditions that make for wider success?

Can cooperative grocery stores buck the chain store system in the United States without strong national and district wholesales?

How do labor banks differ from real cooperative banks? Can they ever become cooperative in this country, in the technical sense?

What legislation is needed to extend to credit unions the banking privileges of ordinary banks?



Drawings by Helen B. Phelps

THIS IS THE WAY THE COOPERATIVE LAUNDRY IN NEW YORK ADVERTISES ITS SERVICES

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Why do farmers need to cooperate in purchasing their commodities just as much as in marketing their crops?

These are interesting questions, and they provoked interesting discussions. But after all, as the delegates said, "Its the work we do back home that really counts." Work, not talk, is the thing that erects mile-stones of cooperative progress.

There were delegates at the congress from the states of Washington, Montana, Idaho, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, Arkansas, Kentucky, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Maryland, District of Columbia, Connecticut and Massachusetts, representing 170 societies.

Not very many! The movement is yet young in the United States. We have not suffered enough to turn to cooperation. The encouraging thing is that the three hundred and thirty-three strongest and best societies in the United States are now united in the national federation which they control, The Cooperative League. As a result of its standardization and education, these societies are sounder and better organized than ever before. AGNES D. WARBASSE

The Social Ideal in Scientific Management

SOME forty-five years ago—1880 or 1881—a blond haired, blue-eyed, 140-pound young man, twenty-four or twenty-five years of age, was made gang boss over a group of machines at the Midvale steel plant, Philadelphia. He had had an Exeter but not a college education, had served his apprenticeship as machinist and patternmaker, and had worked as yard laborer, machinist and time keeper.

Born with a disposition to do his best and to expect it of others, to undertake a task with energy and to stick to it with bulldog determination—all intensified by an inherited Puritan-Quaker conscience—Fred Taylor set out to get production from his machines. He naturally pursued the then customary method of foremanship in the steel industry—guessing how much work should be done by a man at a machine in a day, and giving orders with no question of the accuracy of his guess or the certainty of his authority.

The young gang boss immediately found himself in the midst of a small cyclone. He discovered that workers can believe there is a time when they should not give of their best, that there can be quite a different point of view from that which inspired him. Why should one get the work done quickly, only to be laid off because there is no more work to do? They had not forgotten incidents of the prolonged depression following the Civil War. Why should one set a good pace only to have rates cut? American workers at that time were having sore experience with rate cutting. The struggle between Taylor and his gang lasted for some time and the young foreman eventually won; but at what a cost of shattered nerves and shaken spirit because of disillusion concerning the fairness as well as the effectiveness of methods of management then prevalent in American industry. Ownership and management left responsibility and authority for getting output to the boss—a functionary peculiar to American industry; and because of limitations of technical knowledge the boss could meet his responsibility in only one way—guess what the output should be and drive men to get that output.

Looking back many years later, Taylor said: "I was a young man in years, but I give you my word that I was a great deal older than I am now, what with the worry, meanness and contemptibleness of the whole damn thing . . . This life was a miserable one, and I made up my mind to either get out of the business entirely . . . or to find some remedy for this unbearable condition."

Taylor was no quitter; if ever there was a man for whom the fascination of a problem varied directly with its difficulty, it was he. He did not get out of the business; he devoted the rest of his life to seeking the remedy for that "unbearable condition." Within two years he had worked out a boss's technique which solved the problem for him and his gang; during the next fifteen years he extended and refined this technique to make it adaptable to larger and more complicated situations; and then he translated what he had been doing into general principles and gave the world a new philosophy of management.

The Taylor System

The boss's technique which he worked out during the year or two following that first and last quarrel with workers under his supervision, was what in its later and more refined form came to be known as the Taylor system. At that time—as always later, when developed and utilized in the spirit of its founder and not in a counterfeit way—it established relatively harmonious industrial relations in highly productive cooperative effort. In its outline the system is simple: first, painstaking investigation to get the facts concerning every—even the most detailed—problem of management, to determine what the output of a particular machine on a particular job should be; second, setting up standards of materials, equipment, methods, achievement and reward on the basis of these facts; third, maintenance of these standards as a stable basis for estimates, schedules and expectations; fourth, making every worker a business man on his own account by high wages and high earnings in accordance with his productivity on the basis of these standards. Such things as time study, functional organization, route sheets and instruction cards are but devices to accomplish these essential things.

A great philosopher has said that the grand systems of philosophy are but rationalized explanations of systematized conduct acquired in reaction to environment. Environment changes, conduct changes, and then comes a new philosophy rationalizing the new conduct. I imagine that is equally true of specialized philosophies, such as a philosophy of management. At any rate, that is true of scientific management, which was first formulated as an explanation of the Taylor system. The system was worked out first, developing step by step in the solution of practical problems as they came up; then came rationalized explanation. Taylor believed this philosophy and the principles formulated in explanation to be fundamental and enduring. He believed the system, however, to be subject to change as industrial conditions change—he even expressed the opinion that not one mechanism of the system as it then was, would be in existence ten years after his death. The philosophy of scientific management is essentially this: knowledge of laws governing industrial operations instead of guess must be the master; industrial effort in the light of known facts and laws will be more productive of facilities for human happiness than effort which is blind; management must be the servant of knowledge instead of the ally of whim and chance; the manager must be a leader and teacher instead of a driver.

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Such in brief were the nature and the origin of the Taylor system and of scientific management. From the very beginning, because of the man from whom they sprang, they had in them a strong strain of unsentimental, practical idealism. It was inevitable that the system, or rather some of the devices in the system, should be appropriated and used for ends not consistent with the Taylor spirit; and it was inevitable that these efforts should fail in their purpose, to the detriment of the prestige of Taylor and his work. Fortunately it was also inevitable that there should be those who should adopt and adapt in the Taylor spirit and should carry on to successful demonstration. In American, French and English industry are to be found managements which are adequate proof of the penetration of the system; and at the recent Prague International Management Congress was overwhelming demonstration of the world-wide penetration of the idealism and the philosophy.

Adopt and adapt! Scientific management is a dynamic thing; its principles are the principles of growth and change, and it is for that reason that its progress has been sure and swift. In the eighties and the nineties as a nation we were still exploring, appropriating and exploiting a continent of great physical resources and mechanical problems were in the foreground. Under such conditions Taylor formulated a philosophy of management of material things by human beings for human interests. Into it he incorporated a social idealism. Since 1900 the development of a more complicated and delicate industrial mechanism has created complicated and delicate human relations, and the human problem has come to the foreground. But that social element which scientific management had in its beginning, has enabled it to meet the challenge of the later period. In so doing it has not lost its practicality and freedom from sentimentalism.

Its Fundamental Objective

Because it is of the very essence of its philosophy, scientific management watches for, listens to, considers and appraises whatever has a bearing on betterment of management; and if it discovers something worth while, it adopts and adapts it. And in so doing it never forgets that human welfare is the fundamental objective, and whatever it adopts must be contributory to that welfare.

Ten years ago the voice of Robert Valentine, preaching the doctrine of workers' consent, was as the voice of one crying in the wilderness. The Taylor Society gave him a forum, and it is to the bulletin of that society that one goes to read the statement of his doctrine. About the same time Robert Wolf came down from the woods of northern New Hampshire with a message concerning recognition in management of the part which may be played by the instinct of creative effort, and the Taylor Society gave him a forum. Both the Taylor Society and these leaders became bigger forces from the contact. They experienced what Mary Follett in her Creative Experience describes as a circular response. Recently the Society has joined forces with the psychologists to bring psychology to the service of management.

During the war the movement towards the establishment of functionalized personnel departments in industrial enterprises made noteworthy advance—in fact, assumed the proportions of an inflation, and subsequently suffered the penalty of inflation. During this period scientific management steadily refused to be excited by the artificial and temporarily expedient, made its contribution by organizing personal relations along fundamental lines, held to what it achieved, and refused to become a party to reaction.

The depression from which American industry is emerging has focused attention on instability of industry as a major social as well as technical problem—one to be solved by wise administration and efficient management. Scientific management plants have attacked the problem fundamentally and their constructive efforts, as at the Dennison Manufacturing Company and the Walworth Company, are cited as examples which point the way towards ultimate solution.

At the Dennison Manufacturing Company is a striking example of effort to adapt corporate structure to all the interests at stake in modern corporate enterprise—a step beyond the zone of technical into the zone of legal organization in search of a sound basis for just human relations in industry.

A few years ago John Commons reported the result of a survey of plants having the reputation of superior achievement in the matter of industrial relations. It is interesting to note that the list of plants investigated reads like a list of examples of scientific management. It is equally interesting to note the following among other inferences by Commons.

> From 10 per cent to 25 per cent of American employers may be said to be so far ahead of the game that trade unions cannot reach them. Conditions are better, wages are better, security is better than unions can actually deliver to their members . . . the outstanding fact in our investigation is the importance of management.

This inference affords no argument against labor unions, but it is a tribute to scientific management.

And today in the shops of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, organized labor and management are cooperating* in the development of better management along scientific management lines, the engineer being in the employ of the unions. It will be a great day for American industry if this effort is a success, and if, under the stimulus of the success, such cooperation becomes general.

Scientific management can never lose its large social content. Its primary idea is management on the basis of facts, and there is an essential fact which no research can ignore —industrial enterprise is human enterprise.

H. S. Person

**The Survey for January 1, 1923, carried Mr. Beyer's story on this piece of cooperation. President Willard of the B. & O. has just expressed the conviction, in a public address, "that the cooperative plan which the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad has put into effect, in cooperation with its shop employes, and their respective unions, is no longer an experiment. It has more than justified itself from many different angles." The October issue of the Machinists' Journal contained the report of that association's committee on railroads dealing with the Union-Management Cooperation Program. "After a very thorough investigation of the results accomplished on the B. & O." the committee finds that "the program has been of great benefit both to the railroad (and to the employes) in improving working conditions, lessening of grievances and more prompt settlement of such grievances as do occur." The committee therefore recommended the extension of the cooperative plan to other railroads. The actual record of experience seems fully to have sustained Mr. Beyer's prophecy that B. & O. Engine 1003 would come to stand in the eyes of management and men as a symbol of a new development in collective bargaining between the standard trade unions and the railroad managements.*

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BOOKS IN OUR ALCOVE

Can the Popular Be True?

THE popularizers of knowledge have a hard time. If they are interesting, science calls them "sensational"; if they are academically precise, the people call them dull. We do not know where in the field of letters there is a more difficult role than that of liaison officer between new facts or ideas and the popular mind. Nor what literary function is more profoundly useful. We pity the men who undertake the job—and yet so robust and dynamic are they that none seem to need pity less.

Two books before us suggest these reflections. The first is scarcely a book; it is a box slip-cover containing twenty neatly printed paper pamphlets—Lectures-in-Print. The author is Everett Dean Martin, the social-psychologist, director of the People's Institute in New York City. The subject is What Psychology Has to Teach You About Yourself and Your World. Each lecture takes up a single aspect of psychology, and contains perhaps 7,000 words. They are popular, for they were given to what the cover describes as "the largest audiences in the history of that famous auditorium, Cooper Union." A stenographer took down the lectures, they were edited and printed. And there you have them—Lectures-in-Print, a new way of bringing to people of "upper middle-class" intelligence facts about what students of society quite generally judge the most important body of knowledge that the members of society can master if they are to take places in a self-conscious social organization.

Now we may ask two questions of Mr. Martin: does he give an honest report of the present knowledge about psychology? And does he make it understandable and popular? The success of the original lectures and their sale in print answers the latter question—they do reach people. The present device for reprinting we recommend to those trying to disseminate information. There is nothing particularly new about this method—for the correspondence schools long ago found out the value of the course in sections. But we should recall the fear a non-trained mind has in the face of a whole unbroken book. He feels he has to follow a long and arduous course, along which there can be no breaks or let-downs. So he just won't start. Here he has to do only one stint at a time. He can finish that and call it a day. Mr. Martin applied his psychology pretty well, we imagine, in selecting this novel format.

Now as to content: in fairness, we should ask no new contribution to the subject from these authors, though Mr. Martin has, as a premium here, his own gift to make, and includes his own estimate of the theories wherewith he deals. The creative gift wanted is the dual ability to grasp the original sources in their prickly difficulty and to invent a method that will make them simple, clear and useful to average people. Indeed, the work is best done when it is not confused by the author's advocacy of some private controversy or thesis of his own. This requires great self-restraint, and is one reason the art is not easy! Most original sources are over disputatious.

Positively, we can demand that such books contain no plain falsehood. Not even getting people interested in ideas can justify getting them interested in untrue ideas. But here again the criterion must be applied carefully. The popularizer has no more absolute test of truth than has the research scientist. He tells what he believes is true, and he is just as liable as the rest of the human race to make mistakes. What we ask perhaps is that he write with character; that he do not misstate or distort merely to secure notorious prestige, or to increase the sale of his books. He must tell the truth in so far as it lies in him. His purpose must be pure and honest.

Mr. Martin stands this test. His difficulties may be indicated by some of the matters he undertakes to outline in his short lectures. For example, The Place of William James; Psycho-Analysis; Freud and His Followers; The Fatality of Habits; Human Nature and Instinct; The Unconscious; the Significance of Intelligence Tests; and Behaviorism. Psychologists, it is well known, do not agree on these matters. But they do agree that they are important—practically important. Therefore, it will not do to say they should not be treated in so brief a space, but reserved for the authoritative and exhaustive treatment. Exhaustive tomes do not get read by the people, and yet the people are those we desire to inform on these very issues—that they may perhaps correct their habits and control their instincts. Moreover, the main notions in these fields are not too difficult to be presented briefly, even with some statement of both sides. Read the lecture on Freud, and you will see how the psychoanalytic concept of dreams, of defense mechanisms, and rationalization can be reduced to simple terms for everyday handling.

We hold no brief for Mr. Martin's ideas on psychology, religion or crowds. He has plenty of critics. He is probably often wrong, and sometimes right, like the rest of us. But we do say he has a method which makes people think, and offers them the first materials for thinking. These are high achievements, likely to help society solve some of its problems, and the only acceptable criticism is from the inventor of a better method of doing these desirable things.

THE second book is The Fruit of the Family Tree by Albert Edward Wiggam, the author of the widely read New Decalogue of Science. The titles indicate the popular appeal. They have the color, picturesqueness, and perhaps inaccuracy of the instinctive journalist. The subject matter—the meaning of heredity and the up-building of the

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race by conscious control of the germ-plasm—is clearly one that offers great chances for "sensationalism." It has to do with sex which is the prime motif of sensationalism. It promises too much, and that too quickly—but that again appeals to the race with its hunger for speedy milleniums.

Yet how would we get much done in the world if we barred sex, and hope? The popularizer seizes these means of interesting people because they *do* interest people. To be interesting is his function; shall we blame him if he succeeds? Shall we blame the publishers (though your scientific conscience turns over inside you) when they put on the jacket: "Would You Like To Know—How you came to have blue or brown eyes, why you are tall or short, fat or slender?

"What science knows about the right sort of person for you to marry?

"What science can tell you about your future children?"

All this sounds like a book on fortune-telling but we find it ending with an appeal to join the American Genetic Association.

Pure science will find much to disapprove of in Mr. Martin's book. Such statements as the one that modern investigation is leaning toward the belief that tuberculosis is in part hereditary will arouse controversy. But if we deduct all the doubtful views and claims there remains vast importance to the person who reads and under-enough of what science itself has labeled truth to be of stands.

WE fear these remarks may leave the notion that such books are useful to a queer sort of average audience found only in forums and classes. The fact is that social service workers need precisely such summaries, interpretations, popular readable resumes of the technical advances outside their own special field. They must understand the root ideas of modern psychology and eugenics for example in order to place themselves and their jobs in right relation, and in order to know what the world is thinking. They cannot pursue these problems through the ramifications of an abstruse research volume—often for the very homely reason that such reading has to be done in the evening when they are mentally too tired for scientific discipline. The interesting, yet accurate, volume here fills a real need.

The sum of the matter is that science needs interpreters. These interpreters have to make themselves read. They have to attract attention in a noisy world—competing with golf and the radio, say—they must do something other than repeat the original researches, for if people wanted them they can always get them. What results is a kind of compromise between the scientific precision of dispassionate truth recording, and a misleading and empty yet personally remunerative sensationalism. The technique of this compromise should be investigated, and the authors who are attempting this dual life should get help, not the rather too generous dispraise now often given them.

LEON WHIPPLE

PSYCHOLOGY, *Lectures-in-Print, by Everett Dean Martin. People's Institute Publishing Co. 248 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of The Survey.*
THE FRUIT OF THE FAMILY TREE, *by Albert Edward Wiggam. Bobbs-Merrill. 391 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

The Endowed Family

THE DISINTERESTED FAMILY—A Plea for the Endowment of The Family, *by Eleanor Rathbone. Longmans, Green & Co. 324 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

MISS RATHBONE'S book, under a somewhat misleading title, presents a very interesting analysis of the wage concept, particularly that of a "living wage," or "minimum wage," as well as a plea for the adjustment of wages to family needs. Her contribution to the subject is as simple as was Columbus's to the problem of standing an egg on end; namely, that the principle of a living wage when applied to industry at large is indefinite and illogical; that it is bound to create excessive income at one end and insufficient income at the other; and that the curve between these two points is the life span of one individual from singleness until he becomes the parent of a large family.

She makes most of the fact that all computations of "the standard of living" and "living wages" are based upon the so-called "normal family" of five. There is nothing normal about such a family. It is questionable whether it represents a true average or median or mode, but whether it does or not, there is no question that an income sufficient for a family of five is excessive for a single individual and may be totally inadequate for a larger family. This conclusion will not startle any professional social worker, particularly in the field of family case work or relief, who adjusts his family budgets to the actual family necessities, not to an artificial average.

The next step is a plea for the adjustment of wages to family needs by a system of family allowances. The suggestion may appear revolutionary, or even preposterous to the American reader who has not thought of the subject, until he learns from the material so ably brought together by Miss Rathbone in the second part of her book, that this proposal has been agitated in half a dozen different countries, and has actually been applied in some localities and in some industries, both in France and Germany, for several years.

Numerous weighty objections will be advanced: by industry on the plea of excessive cost; by labor in protest against a subtle effort to destroy the family budgets as the basis for "minimum wage standards"; by the financier because here is a dangerous new burden to the state budgets; and by the sociologist because here is a possible incentive for an excessive birth-rate among the unfit. These objections are discussed and answered. She points out that the unmarried workman "hides himself behind the skirt of the non-existing wife and her children" to receive wages to which on the simple plea of the cost of living, he is not entitled; that the profits of industry in England are not high enough to permit the extension of a wage sufficient for a large family to each and every workman; that the present system breeds extravagant consumption by some, and under-nourishment for others.

Miss Rathbone will probably not help her proposal by extending it too far. At one moment she shifts her argument from wage adjustment on the basis of family need to general state family allowances to the entire population; and in her effort to cover all aspects of the problem, she projects her program even to make it cover the problem of unemployment. It is quite true, as she points out, that some way or other the wage worker's children are supported out of the general social surplus. But the suggestion that

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the cost of the support of the entire child population be shifted upon the public treasury brings to the surface a social ideal that has not been increasing in popularity, in this country at least. The problems involved become more complex, social and eugenic arguments, more numerous, and the possibility of such a system depressing the general "living wage" are very much more real.

On the other hand, within the limits of a well-organized industry, some such adjustment of wages to needs may be easily accomplished without any increase in labor costs, and to tremendous social advantage. The main obstacles to be overcome would be the employers' fear of something new, and the very real disinclination of the unmarried workman to forego his advantages of the past. But, after all, the state of single-blessedness is in most cases a temporary one, and in many industries, unmarried male workers must be in a decisive minority.

Apropos the main thesis there is a good deal of material on traditional militant feminist lines. But the style is so engaging and the enthusiasm and faith so evident and sometimes so convincing that the reader, and particularly the female reader, will not begrudge the author her frequent yielding to the temptation to belabor the male sex. The proposal for the adjustment of wages to family needs is not yet a problem of practical politics or economics in this country, but one may suggest that it is likely to become so in the not very distant future. For the study of this question and for a very eloquent presentation of arguments for or against the proposal, the book can be warmly recommended to every social worker.

I. M. RUBINOW, M.D.
Executive Director, Jewish Welfare Society, Philadelphia

God-Fearing vs. Sport-Loving

YOU GENTILES, *by Maurice Samuel. Harcourt, Brace & Co. 221 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

THE Jew fears God. The Gentile "plays the game." So, they live in two worlds between which breaks "an unbridgeable gulf." Jews are sombre, moral, seeking forever to understand and serve God; Gentiles are romantic, lyrical, laughter and love-loving, seeking joy and adventure in all sorts of sports—and making of their God little more than a pal, or at best, only the Umpire for their games. These sports include, as Mr. Samuel sees them, not only the furious exaggerations of athletics, but also war, science, business and utopia-making; and they demand loyalties and disciplines that the Jew does not understand and does not want to master. He thinks the whole thing foolish. Sacrifice for the team; devotion to any fraternity; loyalty to the nation; regimentation in the army's goose-step—all strike him as silly. He is obstreperous in meetings and disorderly in society. Yet, within the iron rule of his own religion he has submitted to a daily and exhausting discipline and ritual beside which the abstentions of the training-table, or the regimen of the military man seem child's play; and he has shown such unparalleled devotion to one organism—his race and religion—that in spite of the persecution of centuries, he remains solid, while Gentile tribe after Gentile tribe has risen, fallen, mingled and disappeared.

"Jews have a way of thinking and living; Gentiles have a different way." Emphasis on this inescapable fact is, we think, the chief gift of this bitter; but powerful and enlightening book. This difference is not a matter of physique, or manners, or even of religion. The author points out that when a Jew, persuaded that his religion is the barrier, becomes Gentile, he gains nothing for the Gentiles at once shift their antagonism from religion to ethnic or scientific grounds. They abandon Christ-killing for the germ-plasm—always rationalizing this cosmic hatred. The Gentile does not like Jews, however they may imitate him. Yet the Western "new Jew" is in our societies—no longer beyond the Pale, but where his questions and his disintegrating iconoclasm are more effective than ever before.

What can be done to reconcile these two ways of life? Nothing. There can be no compromise. The only attempt at an answer given is that Gentiles may absorb Jews. But here new difficulties arise, for intermarriage involves *both* parties. The Jew cannot be absorbed without absorbing. He cannot marry into the Gentile family, without the Gentile marrying him. This is the last thing the Gentile wants. Moreover it is against the age-long endogamous instinct of the orthodox Jew. Assimilation is a weak prescription for a race that has resisted assimilation for four thousand years. And if Gentiles absorb Jews they are by so much Judaized themselves. The author does not pretend to think the proposed solution much better than the present antagonism.

This may not be the best book, but it is the most exciting intellectual adventure, of the fall. Being a Gentile, I quarrelled with the man all the way. When he says as a Jew: "We to you are essentially without honor; you to us are essentially without morality. Your ideal morality is a sporting morality," it whips up the blood and the brain. The study of the difference cuts across all our institutions so that we get a keen analysis of the hypocrisy of business, the futility of our science, and the asininity of our concept of the universe. I think the chapter on our science is the key to the book for here Mr. Samuel betrays himself as a mystic, the descendant of long lines of Oriental mystics and fatalists. Nothing matters but the reconciliation of God and man.

Mr. Samuel believes the Jewish idea of this reconciliation involves social justice, and morals. But social justice is not a mystic thing—it is the application of science and politics and business to helping people here and now. Making a game of these is just one way of getting a practical job done. Moreover, social justice has nothing to do with the mystic contemplation of the God idea. You can do that anywhere, any time, rich or poor, sick or well.

I think that Jew and Gentile are so many chasms apart that perhaps I can no more do justice to Mr. Samuel's God than he can do to my "games." Though his God descended to me through his Bible, and his race bred our Christ, we make a different use of the gifts. It is perhaps futile then to say that maybe we play at life not because we regard it as less serious than do the Jews, but as more serious. We veil life with dreams, sports, and romance, not because life is that way, but because it isn't, and we attach so little value to our own lives in the vast image of God that we can toss them away with a smile as "a gentleman and a sportsman." Perhaps we worship in our own way.

This is a good book even when the Gentile believes it wrong. It is not polite, but racial differences never are. Every page challenges to discussion with the hope of rebuttal. There are blind spots, but they arise from fervor,

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not from indolence; and the author's vigor sweeps fresh air into an arena long filled with dust and chaff from straw men belabored with journalistic slap-sticks.

L. W.

A Little Drama In Coal

THE STRIKE FOR UNION, *by Heber Blankenhorn. Published for the Bureau of Industrial Research by the H. W. Wilson Company. 259 pp. Price $2.25 postpaid of The Survey.*

THIS is one of the books which present a difficult task to the reviewer, because it is so rich in content that many things crowd and jostle to be said about it. In the large, it is an able study of a typical chapter in the struggle for democracy in industry, which puts concrete meaning into the vague phrases ordinarily used to label such conflicts. It is also an intensive examination of the United Mine Workers in action, of the problems which must be solved before the non-union coal fields can be organized. And it is a piece of vivid journalism which somehow, in spite of its systematic plan and its background of technical detail, carries to the reader a touch of the emotional power and the humanities in a great labor struggle. Yet it is not a piece of special pleading, but an exhibition of facts, which candidly raises questions embarrassing to most of the parties concerned.

In the heart of the coal districts of Pennsylvania lies Somerset County, the miners of which have not succeeded in dealing collectively with their employers or permanently affiliating themselves with the United Mine Workers of America. This has serious consequences for them, and it also remains as a standing threat to the continued progress of the union miners, as do the other unorganized fields. When the great strike of 1922 broke, Somerset County somewhat unexpectedly followed the lead of the union. In what degree this action was solicited and organized from outside, in what degree it was spontaneous, and how it fared, is told in a narrative full of incident that traverses the whole realm of the struggle against company-owned towns, restriction of civil liberties, use of thugs and armed guards, "yellow-dog" contracts, injunctions, evictions, spies, false rumors and reports, the slow drive of starvation against the morale of striking men and their families. No chapter of the American Revolution furnishes a more tragically moving history.

Even more significant, however, are the sections telling what the symbolism of the union meant to these men, and what it actually did for them in the way of leadership and help. There was the union as their own local organization. There was the union as the adjacent, fully-organized District No. 2. And there was the International, representing the organized miners throughout the country. At first, in a confused and clumsy but devoted way characteristic of democratic action, all three units seemed to be working lustily together to support the hitherto unorganized Somerset strikers. As the battle wore on, trouble arose. There appeared rifts between the International and District No. 2 which seemed to prevent the one or the other from doing all it could. Then came the so-called national settlement which left out the hitherto non-union districts. Further cross-currents—of honest disagreement, and of political intrigue—assailed the morale of the heroic rank and file. How to solve the problems of democratic administration which if unsolved imperil the cause of victory, how to create an economic situation in which it will not be necessary to sacrifice one part of the army in order to safeguard the rest—these puzzling questions loom over the simple struggle of the Somerset miners for industrial rights.

At length came the appeal to "the public" to salvage the almost forgotten strike in Somerset. Emissaries to New York strove to arouse the sympathetic consumers of the coal, and the more liberal of the owners. But the pressure, although it appeared at one time likely to produce results, was too late, and not sufficient. That section of the owners which was moved to take action was checkmated by the masterly inaction of those who would move under no circumstances. Autocracy held fast and at length broke the strike. Could public pressure have done more if it had been stronger? Would it have been stronger if the public had known what the United Mine Workers intended to do about the coal industry, once they were firmly established in it? On these questions Mr. Blankenhorn ends.

Nothing is more essential to enlightened progress than the careful analysis of past experience. Few experiences in recent industrial history have been more significant to the miners, the trade-union movement, and the consuming public, than the coal strike of 1922. On that account Mr. Blankenhorn's book will repay careful study no matter whether one agrees with his interpretation and shares his sympathies or not.

GEORG SOULE

How Homes Make Children

HOW FOSTER CHILDREN TURN OUT, *edited by Sophie Van Senden Theis. New York State Charities Association. 239 pp. Price $1.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

THIS monograph of the New York State Charities Aid Society reports one of the most extensive and significant pieces of research as yet contributed to the field of child welfare. One cannot read it without being impressed anew with the great complexity of social problems, and the amount of time and effort required to make any additions to our knowledge of them. The monograph reports a study of all of the children given out for adoption, or placed in free permanent homes by the society, who are now as much as eighteen years of age. The study is based, not merely on the records of the office, but upon field work in the course of which each case was visited to ascertain present conditions, and many records of the past were verified and amplified. A thousand cases were dealt with, and over six hundred proved to have data sufficiently complete to be used in most of the tabulations.

From a mass of valuable material, one can select only the few points likely to be of greatest general interest. First of these is the fact that while 80 per cent of the families from which the children came, were classified as "bad," 80 per cent of the children made good. By "bad," is meant families that were not able to maintain themselves independently, but were already, because of crime, disease or inefficiency, public liabilities. The children who were classed as making good, were those who had made a sufficiently successful adaptation to the environment in which they were placed, so that they were in no sense social problems. When the children from "bad" families were compared with those from "good," it was found that the proportion of successful outcomes of placing was about the same in the two groups. The foster homes were classified as to

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financial and cultural resources. They varied from laborer's families with very limited resources, to families of means and culture. Again, no difference in the proportion of successes and failures was found between the group of children placed in the more limited type of family, and those placed in families of good resources. In fact, but one difference could be found between the children who succeeded in their foster homes and those who failed, and that was the age of adoption. Those adopted under five years of age had a distinctly greater chance of success than those adopted after five.

One finishes reading the report with an optimistic feeling that the importance of mere hereditary factors in determining the outcome of an individual has been over-emphasized, that most human beings are capable of turning out to be contributing members of society if they can be surrounded with decent living conditions from early years, and that social work for children can be pursued with even greater hopefulness in the future. Equally strong is the impression that while the chances for success in the home placement of children are good, we are still far from understanding the subtler factors which may make the difference between success and failure.

HELEN T. WOOLLEY

Merrill-Palmer School, Detroit

A Catalog of Erratic Souls

PECULIARITIES OF BEHAVIOR, *by Wilhelm Steckel. Translated by James S. Van Teslaar. Boni & Liveright. 2 vols. 665 pp. Price $8.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

OF course some one would do it, and Dr. Steckel—whose works Dr. Van Teslaar is making available in translation—has done it in general extremely well. We have all been expectantly waiting for some one to catalog erratic, and asocial behavior, under the psychoanalytic postulates. Krafft-Ebing and Havelock Ellis made intriguing reading, but that is about as far as they went. They reduced the unspeakable to a science of classification and description. Dr. Steckel adds the vital element of explanation. Yet he does no more than other analysts could do; he simply unmasks the motives and psychical genesis of some sorts of unsocial and erratic erotic behavior.

In one other important respect does his work mark a great advance over that of his predecessors. They treated sexual peculiarities as though they were of most social importance while the other social misdemeanors were lightly treated as irrelevant or inconsequential. Steckel has reversed the emphasis. He studies first of all drug addiction and drinking, theft, wandering, pyromania, gambling, and allied impulsive acts. Then in the larger field of sex and social adjustment he looks for, and invariably finds, the explanation.

The impulse to wander (called "an instinct" in the translation) sets in when one finds himself unable to adjust his desires to the demands of organized society. He protects himself, and society, by taking refuge in wandering or travelling and indulging in fantasies. The wanderer also seeks escape by travelling back to childhood in his reveries.

So too, indulgence in alcohol and other drugs, makes it possible to adjust unwanted urges to social demands, even if only by such an obscure avenue as "pleasure without guilt." The use of drugs makes a man for a while more socially adjusted. There is almost always conflict at the basis of the craving for drink, or even of a normal desire for its stimulation. It is not so much the habit-forming qualities of the drugs as the channels they afford to make a compromise adjustment that produce the devastating effects. Of course, erotic conditions are found to be prominent in the etiology of the occasional spree as well as in more involved addictions.

Stealing is found to be prompted more by the symbolic components of the articles taken, and by the relief in the act itself than by any financial motives. It turns out, often, to be a way out of sexual pressure, not so well socialized an outlet as drinking or wandering, perhaps, but still half a way out. These two are in the nature of self-protections against unbidden impulses; stealing is more a symbolization, or disguised outlet, for the impulses. This same protection against vague impulses—and at times they are far from vague—may take form in foolish fears, which are not at all unreasoned.

Card-playing and gambling are found to be much like drug-addiction, both in hidden motives and the outlet they offer. Perhaps the best portion of the present work is the analysis of gambling, although the author's original analyses of cases are all too few.

Are these persons who follow asocial courses, criminal? Steckel prefers to call them sick individuals. He has found that they can be cured through psycho-pedagogy. This, as well as vocational guidance, sterilization and education are touched upon in the closing chapter. Regarding the last: "The schoolroom, often, is but a torture chamber, accentuating the revolt of the oppressed against society."

This is a good work. The views are socially optimistic. Yet nobody who has not himself worked with Steckel's cases is equipped for just criticism. Long-range analysis from case reports is as absurd as Mr. Dooley thought a second tail would be for a pig. This applies to one who would find mistakes in Steckel's case analysis: and it applies to Steckel, who uses cases he knows only through a fifty-word summary written as many years ago. Literary prototypes are also used. If these are merely for purposes of illustration, well enough, but their value ends there. A second error would appear to be that the author took two volumes for this work. His first chapter prejudices the reader, and seems to have been written just because a book must start somewhere. More translations of succeeding volumes in the series are promised, and I, for one, will be among the first to read them. Anyone who thinks about social problems—perhaps he calls them just human problems—could do likewise to his advantage, if he can secure the books, which are restricted.

DONALD A. LAIRD

Colgate University

Tarts and Comfits

OUR readers have asked us for some identification of our reviewers. Unfortunately, however, most of them have not been finger-printed so we are forced to the device of a Who's Who such as adds to the gayety of nations in the tail pages of our rivals. Certainly the thing seems harmless, to-wit:

Contributors to This Issue

DR. MEPHISTOPHELES BLUNT. is associate door-man (in

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charge of the back door) at the Massachusetts Dermatological Institute.

IVAN KEGOWSKI is a Russian now living in Cos Cob with his widowed mother.

C. R., the author of the delicate lyric used to fill up page 461 desires to remain unknown. Her name is Charlotte Russe, and her address, care of Kankakee High School.

NICHOLAS CARTER, who reviews Cuckoo in this number is the author of Apple Sauce.

FRANK MERRIWELL, who reviews Apple Sauce in this number is the author of Cuckoo.

J. HIBBEN SPEDDEN is a member of our STAFF. He wrote this lovely appreciation of Autumn Fogs while the printer's devil waited.

KLAM CHOWDAR whose reminiscences of India have, we believe our readers will agree, the lilting quality of the ancient Lilts is an Indian who left India before he was born.

JOHN HANCOCK (deceased), was a writer of international reputation.

ANON has contributed to many books and periodicals.

HEALTH BOOKS, the little buff-colored bibliography issued by the American Public Health Association, on public health and allied topics has gone into the third edition. The list has been thoroughly revised; many new titles have been added; and many that appear to be less useful than before, have been dropped. Titles of about 750 books are listed, from 90 publishers, and the list is up-to-the-minute, as it includes titles just out, or about to appear. This year's biography contains the dates of publication of all books. This should prove helpful.

Art is democracy in its very essence, knowing nothing of caste, class or rank. It may bestow its choicest gifts upon utter poverty; it may deny them entirely to great wealth. It is the best *re*creation in the true and literal meaning of the word. It has power to recreate tissues of the soul and brain, sometimes indeed the very zest for life. It is a strong force for civic improvement. It is a serious and important cultural element for the community. . . . It is a much needed outlet for emotions which if not given the right kind of channel, are apt to express themselves harmfully, if not destructively. In that sense, it is a valuable antidote to Bolshevism.—*Otto Kahn, to the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce on behalf of the Brooklyn Little Theatre.*

Panem et circenses, Mr. Kahn? And isn't this a reflection on the work of the Moscow Art Theatre?

PEOPLE in other lands are hungry for English books. Can we afford not to answer their petition? They come asking, not food, not money, not recreation even, but something of the spirit of America as it is recorded in books. Christmas is a good time to listen to these appeals.

The Friends of Mexico, of whom the chairman is Thomas Mott Osborne writes thus:

Will you help us collect and organize an English library for Mexico? No gift the American people could make would be more appreciated by the people of Mexico, or put to better use. The Department of Education has agreed to house and maintain this Library as a separate unit in Mexico City. Any standard book will be appreciated—the kind of book you would give a friend!

There follows a list including everything from Aesthetics to Zoology. Religion, belles lettres, and economics seem

OXFORD BOOKS

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By Herman Melville *Nett* 80c
The incidents portrayed were the outcome of the author's own experiences on board the U. S. Frigate, "United States," Moby Dick by Herman Melville was published last year. Typee and Omoo will be published shortly.

RELIGION SINCE THE REFORMATION
By Leighton Pullan *Net* $3.75
"In these fascinating pages Religion since the Reformation passes in review."—*The Expositor.*

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"The word 'sumptuous' is emphatic and not to be used slightly. But if a stronger adjective as descriptive were at our command we would use it in describing this engrossing study. Into all public libraries and into the home library of every lover of art this superb book should go."—*Boston Transcript.*

SELECT POEMS OF LORD DE TABLEY
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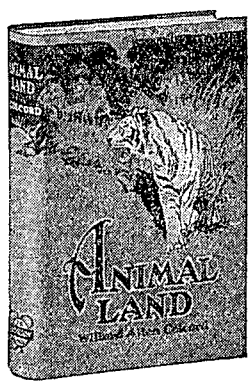

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WALDO FRANK

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"The evil man with the white head of CHALK FACE is assuredly in the category of those "other ghosts" that have horrified the souls of such writers as Dostoyevsky and Melville." Gorham B. Munson, *N. Y. Evening Post.* $2.00

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B&L **GOOD BOOKS**

especially desirable. The address is The Library for Mexico, 11 Broadway, New York City.

The other appeal is even more moving.

There has been formed in Moscow an Anglo-American Club of immigrants intending to remain here. Together with immigrant clubs of other nationalities it has been given a fine building, and has established a reading-room and library. Books at present are merely the composite of libraries of the members, ranging from Tauchnitz editions to catalogues. It would be most useful to have a well-chosen library of 1000 or more volumes, giving a fair and general view of the United States and its conditions. Knowledge on this is much lacking and much desired. We especially want books covering the government of the United States, and its economic development, including land policy, natural resources, and trusts; books on business methods, including efficiency systems; labor and farmer movements; negro and immigration and nationality problems in general; social or-organization; and typical novels of American life.

There have been dozens of requests for books on cost-accounting, which is now much agitating the Russian factories. If we secure any large number of such books we shall arrange to let them out on loan collections, in the government department or trade union where they are most in demand, and where English is read. Duplication of a few books will not be serious as there is a big demand through Russia, and there are many distant colonies of Americans and English-speaking people who crave books. There are forty children in the American Colony in Moscow and we should not mind a few classics, like Ivanhoe.

It is easy now to send books to Russia, as printed matter, in small packages, wrapped in heavy paper. Address: Anglo-American Club, Leontifsky Periuluk, Moscow.

They "crave books"—and want the little children to read Ivanhoe! Here is a new famine to be ministered to, and a way of peaceful penetration that is lovely and beneficient both to donor and receiver. These lands want to be Americanized!

THE RUN OF THE SHELVES

Books are listed here as received. Many of those mentioned by name only in the classified sections below will be reviewed later.

Religion

LETTERS AND RELIGION, *by John Jay Chapman. Atlantic Monthly Press. 132 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

THIS very attractive voloume of essays is not concerned with theology, but with the spirit of religion, and the intimate relation that it has with the things of the mind. It is brilliant in form, abounding in paradox, and immensely thought-provoking. I cannot imagine the type of mind that would want to read it through at one sitting. It is essentially the sort of book in which one will want to dip again and again, and by which one will be rewarded for so doing. W. B.

HISTORICAL METHOD IN BIBLE STUDY, *by Albert Edwin Avey. Charles Scribner's Sons. 189 pp. Price $1.25 postpaid of The Survey.*

TORCHBEARERS IN CHINA, *by Basil Mathews and Arthur E. Southon. Missionary Education Movement. 186 pp. Price $.75 cloth, $.50 paper, postpaid of The Survey.*

Health

HYGIENE AND PUBLIC HEALTH, *by George M. Price, M.D. Lea & Febiger. 280 pp. Price $2.25 postpaid of The Survye.*

THIS HANDY VOLUME offers in a tabloid form for medical students, nurses and other workers in the field of health some of the terms commonly used to define or describe activities of hygienists and sanitarians. As a kind of quiz compend or glossary of terms it may have its place, and for those wishing to pass state board examinations the brevity of its paragraphs will be appealing. The Economic Value of Life

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presented in twenty lines may be convenient for the newspaper reporter, but hardly appeals to anyone seriously concerned with health and its protection. Sanitary inspectors will find this little syllabus to contain the germ of good information and an introduction to the elements of public health practice. In certain chapters the revision is far behind readily available contemporary information. This is particularly noticeable in the chapter of Milk Supply. A discussion of infant mortality in 1924 based on the experience of Strauss milk depots in 1906 seems a bit archaic, and reference to the studies of Hess on tubercle bacilli in New York City milk before the time of compulsory pasteurization adds little to an understanding of present day conditions. A serious omission would appear to be the lack of mention of the value of the periodic health examination, upon the promotion of which as a major factor in hygienic and public health the medical profession, the official and the volunteer health agencies have so fortunately united in the past three years. As a pocket vade mecum, not a text book or a treatise on sanitation this little volume shows a deal of concentrated statement, reliable, useful and sufficiently up-to-date for field workers whose chief value is their personality rather than encyclopedic knowledge of the technical problems of their occupation. H. E.

LIGHTING IN RELATION TO PUBLIC HEALTH, *by Janet H. Clark. Williams & Wilkins. 185 pp. Price $4.00 postpaid of The Survey.*
SENESCENCE AND REJUVENESCENCE, *by Charles Manning Child. Univ. of Chicago Press. 481 pp. Price $4.00 postpaid of The Survey.*
STUDIES IN HUMAN BIOLOGY, *by Raymond Pearl. Williams & Wilkins. 653 pp. Price $8.00 postpaid of The Survey.*
THE FOUNDATION OF HEALTH, *by Wm. Barnard Sharp. Lea & Febinger. 256 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*
THE PHYSIOLOGY OF TWINNING, *by Horatio Hackett Newman. Univ. of Chicago Press. 230 pp. Price $1.75 postpaid of The Survey.*
THE BIOLOGY OF TWINS, *by H. H. Newman. Univ. of Chicago Press. 186 pp. Price $1.50 postpaid of The Survey.*
Council. 71 pp. Price 30c. postpaid of The Survey.
SMALLPOX AND VACCINATION, *by Benjamin White. Harvrad Univ. Press. 90 pp. Price $1.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

Industry and Economics

AMERICAN ECONOMIC HISTORY, *by Harold Underwood Faulkner. Harper & Bros. 721 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

THIS IS AN economic history written by a historian. The author stresses economic causes and explanations rather more than most economists would. It is obviously intended for a textbook but ought to appeal to the general reader. The style is pleasing and the reader's interest well maintained. The treatment shows a wide range of reading. Many interesting quotations from contemporaries, are introduced into the text. The presentation of the subject is aided by a large number of maps, graphs and statistical tables. At the end of each chapter are "Notes for Further Reference" which give an extremely valuable critical bibliography and also "Selected Readings" which are properly intended for teaching assignments. The index is unusually adequate. Three chapters will be of especial interest to social workers, Labor in the Colonies, Social Background of the Formative Period and The Labor Movement. The distribtion of space is rather better than in some of the other texts; about two-ninths is given to the colonial period; about three-ninths to the period of the Civil War; and about four-ninths, to the period since the Civil War.

J. D.

THE WAY OUT, *by Edward Filene. Doubleday, Page & Co. 306 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*
SOCIETY AND THE SURPLUS, *by Newell LeRoy Sims. D. Appleton & Co. 581 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of The Survey.*
BRITISH LABOR SPEAKS, *by Richard Hogue. Boni & Liveright. 282 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of The Survey.*
RECENT LABOR PROGRESS, *by Roger Babson. Fleming H. Revell Co. 336 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of The Survey.*
AMERICAN ECONOMIC HISTORY, *by Harold U. Faulkner. Harper & Bros. 721 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of The Survey.*
THE INDUSTRIES OF THE CLYDE VALLEY DURING THE WAR, *by W. R. Scott and J. Gunnison. Oxford Univ. Press for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Yale University Press, sales agent. 224 pp.*

Bishop Brown's Fight

A Fight for the Right to Interpret the Bible in Accordance with Science

A Fight to Break the Shackles of Outgrown Religious Creeds

A Fight Against Pulpit Hypocrisy

Bishop Brown's Fight is the popular title given to the Brief filed in the Court of Review by Joseph W. Sharts of Dayton, Ohio, counsel for Bishop William Montgomery Brown, in the heresy trial over his booklet, Communism and Christianism. Date of Review hearing, January 13th, 1925. Place, Trinity Cathedral, Cleveland, Ohio.

PUBLICATIONS

Communism and Christianism, paper 25c
Heresy No. I, Before the Trial, 25c
Heresy No. II, During the Trial, 35c
Bishop Brown's Fight, 35c

(This set covers the trial to January 13th, 1925, and may be had for $1.00)

Communism and Christianism, cloth 75c

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SOCIAL WORK SHOPTALK

TWO middle-western conferences of social work took on a new lease of life this autumn—South Dakota under the leadership of Dr. Henry Kimball Warren, president of the Yankton College, and Nebraska through the work of Henry Monsky and William R. Blumenthal. Mr. Monsky typifies the ideal of the layman in social work. As a young lawyer in Omaha, he became a director of the Jewish Charities and an officer of the welfare federation of the city (of which F. D. Preston is secretary). For two years he has served as president of the state conference and at this year's meeting in Lincoln delivered a presidential address which was unique in its presentation of a professional program for the social worker and in its inspiration for the layman.

Not far away—in Iowa—is another layman who has contributed much of time and intelligent leadership to social work. In November, 1923, a child welfare commission was appointed by the governor of Iowa, with an appropriation of $2,500 to cover the cost of a state-wide survey, the report to be submitted in January 1925. J. B. Weaver, a former legislator and a business man of Des Moines, was appointed chairman and has contributed more than a year of his time without compensation. So keen was his interest that he refused an invitation for a European trip in order to see the child welfare job through. That he is appreciated by the social workers was shown at the state conference in Sioux City, when, in twenty minutes, $500 was subscribed to make up a deficit in the routine expenses of the commission.

Iowa is one of the outstanding examples of how a state university can promote the social welfare program throughout the state. The extension department, under Dr. Edward S. Lauer with Louise Cottrell and Effie Doan as field workers, is actively working at organizing counties for social work according to the "Iowa plan" of coordination of public and private agencies.

THE PROBLEM of arousing the layman's interest was cleverly attacked at the Mississippi Valley Conference on Tuberculosis at Sioux Falls. Fed up with formal addresses and discussions. T. J. Wehrly, secretary of the Michigan Tuberculosis Association, and Will Ross, of Milwaukee, staged an impromptu dialogue in which the state tuberculosis secretary (Wehrly) approaches, in his office on a busy day, the hard-boiled hardware merchant (impersonated by Ross) whom he wishes to enlist for another year as a committee chairman. The merchant gives all the stock reasons why his town should not contribute to a state and national program and why he, in particular, should not be selected. The T. B. secretary throws him for a heavy loss.

The Missouri Conference for Social Welfare was another to include the unusual in its program. An entire afternoon was given over to race relations. The success of the meeting was not marred by the Hotel Statler which, unlike the Washington Hotel in Washington, D. C., at the meeting of the American Sociological Society, permitted Negroes to ride on its passenger elevators.

The Kansas Conference followed its precedent of a year ago in setting aside a portion of each day for an institute on case work. This year David C. Adie, secretary of the C. O. S. of Buffalo, conducted the institute. A dramatic touch was added to the conference when a member of the State Board of Control wrote to the chancellor of the University of Kansas protesting against the presidential address of Professor Stuart A. Queen and calling for Professor Queen's resignation from the faculty. The address had courageously suggested a legislative program for the reorganization of the state welfare work and a careful re-reading of it was sufficient to allay the fears of the state officials.

INDIANA and Ohio both exceeded all previous attendance records. Indiana, at New Castle, scored 517 registrants and Ohio, at Columbus, 1,001. The Michigan conference was also unusually well attended—as it should have been. Seldom is a program better balanced than this one. Two conferences, Nebraska and Kansas, were fortunate enough to have Grace Abbott on the program, and Nebraska scored further by adding Julia Lathrop. Howard W. Nudd, director of the Public Education Association, and Eugene T. Lies, of the Playground and Recreation Association, were on the program at three of the state conferences, and Edward D. Lynde, associate director of the Associated Charities of Cleveland, spoke at Michigan and Indiana.

As for frivolous entertainment, the Mississippi Valley Conference on Tuberculosis took the prize, by providing a full-fledged wild west rodeo, or broncho-busting exhibition, and added a thrill by having as guests of honor at its annual dance six cowboys and one cowgirl, in full regalia. In Kansas a relieving touch was introduced when several members were called upon to confess The Worst Mistake I Ever Made. Iowa came through with Conference Follies, a bit hesitant in technique but irresistible in satire. J. D. K.

JOSEPH LEE of Boston, president of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, is the donor of two prizes to be awarded by the Committee on Publicity Methods in Social Work in its second one act play contest. There will be a first prize of $350 and a second of $150. The judges include Julia Lathrop, Jane Addams, Zona Gale, Winchell Smith, and Samuel K. Eliot, Jr. Entries close on February 15. Contestants may obtain the conditions of the contest by writing to the Committee on Publicity Methods, 130 East 22 Street, New York City.

AFTER five years at 1 Madison Avenue, the National Information Bureau—and the American Association for Community Organization—have migrated, like the National Child Labor Committee and several other agencies, to larger quarters on Fourth Avenue. The new address is 215 Fourth Avenue, New York.

POPE PIUS XI has decorated Mrs. Gertrude Hill Gavin, retiring president of the National Council of Catholic Women. Mrs. Gavin is now president of the New York Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women, to which has been assigned by Cardinal Hayes the task of caring for Catholic immigrants in New York. In common with other organizations working to aid the newcomer in adjusting himself to American life, the Archdiocesan Council recognizes that the new law really increases the opportunity for service. Fewer immigrants are coming, to be sure, but there is, then, more time for intensive work with those just getting settled.

IN Shoptalking on October 15th about Edwin G. Eklund we placed him inadvertently in the wrong Springfield. He is Director of the Council of Social Agencies of Springfield, *Illinois*.

Gasoline Gypsies

They're a problem for caseworkers, sure enough. But they're folks, too, and some of us have a bit of a feeling we'd like to be the same sort of problem. This is the way one member of The Survey staff reacted to the story by Mr. Sanderson which we printed in the December 1 issue and which has a sequel on p. 349 of this number:

They crowd the roads in paintless cars, springs broken on one side
With patched old tires and cushions torn, with curtains flapping wide.
They surge beyond the valley road with insolent honking cry,
While we stand at the little doors and watch the world go by.

They always know what's just beyond that farthest, bluest hill.
They know what summer dawns are like, when all the stars are still.
They fling across the tender earth, out—out—beyond the sky.
And we—we plant our radish beds and watch the world go by.

Oh hurry all the children in and pull the curtains tight.
Don't listen to their cheerful horns—shut out the luring sight!
We'd run quite short of ants and slugs if *everyone* should fly
Come, look and bar the little doors and let the world go by.

G. H.

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Extract from Diary, The Pelham Tours . . . Extract No. 2

Siena, June 13th: My week in Rome is now a memory. The Roman Forum, with the purple of wisteria against the grey of a crumbling wall; the glow of the oleander and the cool whiteness of a broken column; the flush of roses falling over the sunken marble of an old basin; everywhere ruin grave with the memories of centuries gone, yet tender with the blossoms of to-day. This I shall never forget.

Then the Colisseum, ghostly in the pale moonlight, and the Spanish Stairs, radiant in the sunlight, trailing the flaming colors of the flower-booths about its feet like the beauty of a silken shawl; the haunting loveliness of the Appian Way, wandering from the city of to-day between fallen and moss-grown monuments of the past to the Catacombs, the city of the dead, while across the wide Campagna the arches of the old aqueduct against the blue sky remind one that beauty cannot die.

We had three days in the Umbrian Valley; at Assisi, fragrant with the memory of St. Francis, "the poor little rich one;" Perugia, the home of Perugino; and Siena with its Cathedral and its art treasures. To-morrow we have another wonderful drive to Florence.

These long drives through the lovely countryside—just a few friends enjoying themselves together and talking over the wonders they have seen—these weave themselves into one's memory of Italy, forming for it a background as perfect as is the background of sun-drenched meadows, misty hills and winding, poplar-bordered streams in a Perugino painting. How different would my background be were I rushing from one place to another in a hot crowded train, tired and distracted. I am glad I am seeing Italy in this way instead.

To be continued

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MOTHER M. ALPHONSA LATHROP, O.S.D.

Rosary Hill Home, Hawthorne, N. Y.

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COMMUNICATIONS

Broken-time Workers

To the Editor: Apropos of the matter under the caption Work Wanderers, page 623, issue of September 15, 1924, may I ask how long observers of the employment of broken-time laborers are going to maintain their present superiority complex towards that essential industrial group? How long before these moral microscope-bearers can understand that harvesters and other broken-time workers are an economic necessity and not a social excresence?

One is entitled to the inference, I think, that a wheat crop of some importance is harvested yearly in Kansas, and that a reasonable number of "hands," not steadily employed in this industry, are needed to help at the job. Are these "hands" made up of, and this work done by, "a young poet out to study Nature and Humanity at first hand, a minister of the gospel disguised in blue jeans . . ., a seriously-minded student . . ., a mere nondescript wanderer . . ." and "only now and then among them . . . a farm laborer *"pure and simple"*? (writer's italics—one would believe he would have to be in the above company).

What of the Kansas news that filters out now and then of tar and feathers, agricultural workers' unions, warehouse fires, hijacking, labor wars with I. W. W., jailings, court injunctions and the like? Are these activities directed at, or by, the Falstaffian army mentioned or the "pure and simple farm laborer?"

The author of the introduction appears to have a psychiatric altitude towards these harvesters of crops and cleaners of fields although able to get her feet on the ground when talking of the work itself. Is it not time to recognize that broken-time workers are just as much of a psychological and psychiatric problem as their jobs, no more and no less? Carl Parker tried to apply a Freudian cause-and-effect concept in this field, but was not of this group, so did not have their viewpoint. As a result he sure fogged-up the minds of a lot of writers with a human-interest complex.

Flint viewed these workers as a criminal type; Solenberger indexed them as moral deficients; Parker equipped them with self-starting inferior complexes; while Nels Anderson, in The Hobo, depicts them as "Hobohemians" burnt-corking their merry winter way thru rain- and wind-swept "jungles", jails, mission flops, lice-infested lodging-houses, while waiting the call of the wild to go out into the country for a chance at the part-time work that happens to fall in their way.

If it would do any good, it might be suggested to would-be literati chroniclers of the working staff that they study Business Cycles and Unemployment and Waste in Industry for style, observe particular industries which depend for their functioning on these broken-time laborers for facts—except that facts might put too much of a crimp in their literary style.

W. S. Goodrich

Oakland, Calif.

The editors are glad to publish Mr. Goodrich's communication. With his fundamental point of view we entirely agree. We would ask him, however, to read the article to which he refers in connection with Don D. Lescohier on Hands and Tools of the Wheat Harvest in the Survey Graphic for July, 1923. Mr. Goodrich invites our attention to Business Cycles and Unemployment, published by a committee of the President's Conference on Unemployment of which Secretary Hoover was chairman. We had hoped that our introductory paragraphs to "Work Wanderers" and the article immediately preceding it, A report on Seasonal Operation in the Construction, which was an analysis of industries in another committee of the President's Conference on Unemployment, would make clear our appreciation of the fact that the casual worker performs an essential economic function—so essential, indeed, that we believe it a major responsibility of management to decasualize him.

The Editors

Old Folks Aren't News in Pennsylvania

To the Editor: Will you not allow us some space in your magazine to present to your readers in Pennsylvania, especially those residing in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, a few public facts to which they are entitled as citizens of the state, but which were not conveyed to them by their daily news channels.

Early in October, the Pennsylvania Old Age Pension Commission issued a call for a conference on the subject of Old Age Pensions. This was a result of the recent Dauphin County Court decision declaring the Pennsylvania's pioneer Old Age Assistance Act unconstitutional. The Commission invited all persons and organizations interested in the subject to attend. Following the announcement, every Philadelphia paper carried an item that the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce would send two of its leading representatives to oppose this legislation because, they claimed, in addition to its being socialistic and paternalistic, the act, if carried into effect, would cost the state at least $25,000,000 per year.

The conference was held on November 13 at the capitol. Nearly two hundred persons from practically every county in the state, representing approximately thirty different organizations, including representatives of almost all church denominations, as well as representatives from five other states, were in attendance. The meeting, it was generally admitted, set a high water mark in public gatherings. The advertised representatives of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce did not appear. The only representative of the State Chamber of Commerce present not only took no issue with any of the speakers, but later congratulated us upon "the inspiring meeting we had."

At this meeting some of the most startling public facts were disclosed. Governor Gifford Pinchot, who signed the Pennsylvania Old Age Assistance Law, pointed out in a most enthusiastic address that the basic Pennsylvania poor law today "is identical in principle and almost identical in language with the Elizabethan poor law adopted in England in 1601." He declared that there are nearly 3,000 laws on our statute books dealing with poor relief and that "for nearly one hundred years every commission appointed to study the subject urged revision of our poor laws. Philadelphia city," he added, "is managed by six different boards of poor directors, while one ward in that city is under the jurisdiction of four different poor boards."

The chairman, in summarizing the Commission's findings as disclosed from nearly 3,000 applications of aged persons in the state showed that, based upon as accurate and scientific figures as are now ascertainable, the commission is convinced that even if every person in Pennsylvania, qualified under the law, would be granted assistance, it would not cost the state more than about $5,000,000 per year. With this sum, the commission would be able to take care of two and one-half times the number now taken care of in the Pennsylvania almshouses at an actual expenditure of at least $8,000,000 per year. It was also shown that while the administrative expended, the administrative expenses under the Old Age Pension plan, according to present indications, would not exceed $6 or $7 of every $100 expended.

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A summary of the above facts was submitted four days in advance to all the representatives of the big Pennsylvania dailies as well as to all the press associations located in Harrisburg. We have the avowed assurance of the representative of the Associated Press at Harrisburg that the story was sent out by mail; and furthermore that at least 700 words were released by wire during the day of the conference. The Pittsburgh office of the Associated Press writes us that the report was received from their bureau at Harrisburg and was part of the regular state service and "undoubtedly reached all associated press papers in Pennsylvania at the same time we received it and in time for publication as designated." The smaller papers in the state carried fair accounts of the conference as sent them by the various press associations. However, of the six dailies in Philadelphia only two deemed the meeting of sufficient importance as to notice it on the inside pages in stories of a little over 100 words each. While an examination of several editions fails to disclose even one of the five dailies in Pittsburgh which mentioned the conference either on the day of the meeting or the following morning.

We know your Pennsylvania readers will appreciate these facts. Should they desire a more extensive report of the information disclosed at the conference, we shall be glad to send them copies of the addresses delivered.

JAMES H. MAURER, *Chairman.*
A. EPSTEIN, *Executive Secretary.*
Old Age Assistance Commission,
Harrisburg, Pa.

Before We Fight

TO THE EDITOR: Is there a rational and effective middle ground between the positions of the man who will never participate in war and the adherent of "My Country, right or wrong"?

Two kinds of pressure may be exerted against war: the one, by states upon each other—the League and Protocol idea; the other, by individuals upon their governments—the theory of those who say they will never support war. Both depend upon public opinion; the second is here discussed.

Without subscribing to the dangerous fallacies that armaments (the enforcing mechanism of policies) may be defensive merely, and that preparedness prevents wars, it is possible to imagine a war which is necessary, in the present world, to preserve from utter discredit, if not from practical destruction, a priceless inheritance of civilization. In such a war one should fight. But such wars are almost as rare as white blackbirds.

On the other hand, one can suppose wars in which any intelligent soldier must feel himself a co-robber and co-murderer with his government. In such a war only he can fight who considers national prestige all-important.

In any concrete case, where the issues are doubtful and confused, has the individual any duty except to obey his government? It is believed that he has. This is the supreme time for the application of such intelligence and information as the individual possesses. When he is confronted by the alternative of hindering or helping the national act in question, he is under a moral responsibility to his conscience and to the future of mankind, to make his own decision. The burden of proof, to show good cause for war, is upon the government which demands support. Few wars are fought without an attractive slogan; what is needed is an intelligent analysis of the government's position, and then a determination to be guided by conscience, in the light of available information. Willingness to undergo punishment for disobedience would be a guarantee of the objector's good faith.

At present the government which determines to wage war is inevitably encouraged thereto by the non-justified assumption that as soon as war is declared all the forces of intolerance and insincerity will be mobilized to make impossible any really intelligent or dispassionate opinion as to the propriety of the

Publicity Methods in Social Work, a course to be given by Evart G. and Mary Swain Routzahn, beginning January fifth, will concern the graphic, written and spoken presentation of information about social work. The course will include discussions of the principles and technique of publicity, a critical examination of publicity materials, and practice in the carrying out of publicity assignments.
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AMERICAN HOME ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION—Lita Bane, executive secretary, Grace Dodge Hotel, Washington, D. C. Organized for betterment of conditions in home, school, institution and community. Publishes monthly Journal of Home Economics; office of editor, Grace Dodge Hotel, Washington, D. C.; of business manager, 1211 Cathedral St., Baltimore, Md.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY—Founded 1828, labors for an international peace of justice. Its official organ is the Advocate of Peace, $2.00 a year. Arthur Deerin Call, secretary and editor, 612-614 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE CONTROL OF CANCER—Frank J. Osborne, exec. sec'y; 370 Seventh Ave. New York. To disseminate knowledge concerning symptoms, diagnosis, treatment and prevention. Publication free on request. Annual membership dues, $5.00.

AMERICAN SOCIAL HYGIENE ASSOCIATION—370 Seventh Ave., New York. To promote a better understanding of the social hygiene movement; to advance sound sex education; to combat prostitution and sex delinquency; to aid public authorities in the campaign against the venereal diseases; to advise in organization of state and local social-hygiene programs. Annual membership dues $2.00 including monthly journal.

CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA—C. C. Carstens, director. 130 E. 22d Street, New York City. A league of children's agencies and institutions to secure improved standards and methods in their various fields of work. It also cooperates with other children's agencies, cities, states, churches, fraternal orders and other civic groups to work out worth-while results in phases of child welfare in which they are interested.

COMMUNITY SERVICE—315 Fourth Avenue, New York City. A national civic movement for promoting citizenship through right use of leisure. It will, on request, help local communities work out leisure time programs. H. S. Braucher, secretary.

COUNCIL OF WOMEN FOR HOME MISSIONS—156 Fifth Avenue, New York. Organized in 1908; 20 constituent Protestant national women's mission boards. Florence E. Quinlan, exec. sec'y. Committee on Farm and Cannery Migrants, Summer Service for College Students, Laura H. Parker, exec. supervisor.

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Commissions: Church and Social Service, Rev. W. M. Tippy, Sec'y; International Justice and Goodwill: Rev. S. L. Gulick, Sec'y; Church and Race Relations: Dr. G. E. Haynes, Sec'y.

GIRLS FRIENDLY SOCIETY IN AMERICA—15 East 40th Street, New York. Girls and women working together to uphold Christian standards of daily living in the home, in the business world, and in the community. Numbers nearly 60,000, with branches in 44 states.

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JOINT COMMITTEE ON METHODS OF PREVENTING DELINQUENCY—Graham Romeyn Taylor, executive director, 50 East 42d Street, New York. To promote the adoption of sound methods in this field, with particular reference to psychiatric clinics, visiting teacher work, and training for these and similar services; to conduct related studies, education and publication: and to interpret the work of the Commonwealth Fund Program for the Prevention of Delinquency.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CIVIC SECRETARIES—Walter T. Arndt, president, New York; Robert E. Tracy, secretary, 313 South Broad Street, Philadelphia. Purpose—To provide contact and interchange of ideas and information among professional secretaries of civic organizations. Meets Cambridge, Mass. November 10-12. 1924.

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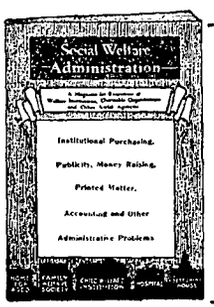

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A small minority practising such principles can alter the development of the world. ARTHUR MINOT REED

Belmont, Mass.

What Labour Did At Home

(*Continued from page* 324)

however, succeeded after a very stiff struggle in which its proposals were restricted and weakened by its political opponents, in passing a new Agricultural Wages Bill, establishing a National Board with County Wage Committees. The Labour Government also took active steps to stimulate agricultural cooperation and assist the farmers, whilst it also subsidized the newly developing beet sugar industry.

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It will be clear from this brief, inadequate and incomplete summary of the Labour Government's achievements that its whole purpose was the improvement of the lot of the people. It realized its limitations and whilst attempting no fundamental changes in the old social structure, it pressed forward as rapidly as possible and as far as its opportunities allowed with measures of social amelioration. Had it remained longer in office, it would have accomplished more. It was the intention of the Government before the end of the year to have placed on the statute book its bill for dealing drastically with profiteering in building materials, its new factory bill, a measure for legalizing the 48-hour working week and a bill for giving women the vote at the age of twenty-one. But even this short additional period of work in the fall was denied to it.

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